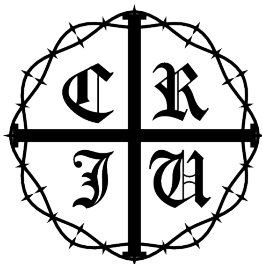


IMMORTALE
DEI

IMMORTALE DEI

POPE LEO XIII

On the Christian Constitution of States



CONSOCIATIO CHRISTI REGIS

2024

This original translation of the great encyclical of Pope Leo XIII, *Immortale Dei*, was prepared by and released into the public domain by the Confraternity of Christ the King. The Latin text is already in the public domain. To learn more, visit the Confraternity of Christ the King (<http://ccregis.org>).

PRÆFATIO

Hoc textum latinum verbatim de *Actibus Sanctæ Sedis*, volumine XVIII, impressum Romæ in anno Domini 1885. Textum in nullo modo mutatum est, cum exceptis: «ae» in «æ», «oe» in «œ», et «i»-consonans in «j» mutata sunt. Symbola etiam loquentis in modum modernum conversa sunt. Scriptiones etiam inusitates—e.g., «caussa» in loco «causa»—adtentæ sunt.

Verba Scripturarum anglica de «Douay-Rheims» sunt.

Textum anglicum translatio nova est.

Ambo texta in dominio publico sunt.

PREFACE

This Latin text is taken exactly from the *Acta Sanctæ Sedis*, volume 18, published in Rome in the year of the Lord 1885. The text has not been changed in any way, with the following exceptions: “ae” has been changed to “æ”, “oe” has been changed to “œ”, and consonantal “i” has been changed to “j”. Quotation marks were also changed to the modern style. Even unusual spellings—such as “caussa” for “causa”—were retained.

The English Scripture quotations are from the “Douay-Rheims”.

The English text is a new translation.

Both texts are in the public domain.

IMMORTALE DEI

Epiſtola Encyclica
SS. D. N. Leonis XIII

*de civitatum constitutione
christiana*

IMMORTALE DEI miserentis opus, quod est Ecclesia, quamquam per se et natura sua salutem spectat animorum adipiscendamque in cælis felicitatem, tamen in ipso etiam rerum mortalium genere tot ac tantas ultro parit utilitates, ut plures maioresve non posset, si in primis et maxime esset ad tuendam huius vitæ, quæ in terris agitur, prosperitatem institutum. Revera quacumque Ecclesia vestigium posuit, continuo rerum faciem immutavit, popularesque mores sicut virtutibus antea ignotis, ita et nova urbanitate imbuit: quam quotquot acceperere populi mansuetudine, æquitate rerum gestarum gloria excelluerunt. — Sed vetus tamen illa est atque antiqua vituperatio, quod Ecclesiam aiunt esse cum rationibus rei publicæ dissidentem, nec quicquam posse ad ea vel commoda vel ornamenta conferre, quæ suo iure

IMMORTALE DEI

ENCYCLICAL LETTER

of His Holiness, Our Lord Leo XIII

*On the Christian Constitution of
States*

THE IMMORTAL WORK OF THE merciful God, which is the Church, although through herself and her nature she looks toward gaining the salvation of souls and the happiness of heaven, nevertheless brings forth so much usefulness beyond that in a certain type of mortal things, that she could not do more or better than as if she were instituted first and foremost for defending the prosperity of this life, which happens on earth. In fact, wherever the Church has placed her footprint, she has immediately changed the face of things, and the popular customs, formerly ignorant of virtue, thus soak up a new sophistication, and however many peoples accepted this with gentleness excelled with justice of things and glory of deeds. — But there is an old and ancient censure, that the Church is said to be at variance

suaque sponte omnis bene constituta civitas appetit. Sub ipsis Ecclesiæ primordiis non dissimili opinionis iniquitate agitari christianos, et in odium invidiamque vocari solitos hac etiam de causa accepimus, quod hostes imperii dicerentur: quo tempore malorum culpam, quibus esset percussa respublica, vulgo libebat in christianum conferre nomen, eum revera ultor scelerum Deus pœnas a sontibus justas exigeret. Ejus atrocitas calumniæ non sine causa ingenium armavit stilumque acuit Augustini: qui præsertim in *Civitate Dei* virtutem christianæ sapientiæ, qua parte necessitudinem habet cum re publica, tanto in lumine collocavit, ut non tam pro christianis sui temporis dixisse causam, quam de criminibus falsis perpetuum triumphum egisse videatur. — Similium tamen querelarum atque insimulationum funesta libido non quievit, ac permultis sane placuit civilem vivendi disciplinam aliunde petere, quam ex doctrinis, quas Ecclesia catholica probat. Immo postremo hoc tempore *novum*, ut appellant, *ius*, quod iniquiunt esse velut quoddam adulti iam sæculi incrementum, progrediente libertate partum, valere ac dominari passim

with the sensibilities of the republic, and that she cannot give anything either suitable or decorative which a well-constituted state seeks after in its own law and from its own will. In the early days of the Church, Christians were shaken by a similar wickedness of opinion, and because of this reason we became accustomed to be called, in hatred and dislike, enemies of the Empire; by which time the blame for the evils by which the republic was being upset was generally pleased to be cast on the Christian name, when in fact God, the avenger of wickedness, was weighing just punishments for criminals. The fury of this calumny, not without cause, armed the spirit and sharpened the pen of Augustine, who, especially in *City of God*, located the strength of Christian wisdom, which necessarily has a part with the republic, in such a light that he spoke the cause not only for the Christians of his own time, but seems to have made a perpetual triumph over the false accusations. — However, the deadly desire of similar complaints and accusations did not cease, and it certainly pleased very many to look elsewhere for the civil teaching of

cœpit. — Sed quantumvis multa multi periclitati sunt, constat, repertam numquam esse præstantiorem constituendæ temperandæque civitatis rationem, quam quæ ab evangelica doctrina sponte efflorescit. — Maximi igitur momenti atque admodum muneris Nostro apostolico consentaneum esse arbitramur, novas de re publica opiniones cum doctrina christiana conferre: quo modo erroris dubitationisque causas ereptum iri, emergente veritate, confidimus, ita ut videre quisque facile queat summa illa præcepta vivendi, quæ sequi et quibus parere debeat.

Non est magni negotii statuere, qualem sit speciem formamque habitura civitas, gubernante christiana philosophia rempublicam. — Insitum homini natura est, ut in civili societate vivat: is enim necessarium vitæ cultum et paratum, itemque ingenii atque

living; other than, that is, from the doctrines which the Catholic Church approves. No indeed, finally, in this time a *new law*, as they call it, which they claim to be just a certain growth born from advancing liberty, began to be strong and to dominate everywhere. — But many men have tried as many things as they wished; it is certain that there is no more excellent rationale of founding and controlling the state than what blossoms forth freely from the Gospel teaching. — Therefore, it is of the greatest moment and clearly pertaining to Our apostolic office that we compare the new opinions on the republic with Christian doctrine; by which means We trust that, the truth coming forth, the causes of errors and doubt will be burst, that anyone may more easily be able to see those greatest precepts of living, which he must follow and to which he must attend.

It is not a great task to set up what the type and form of the state should be, by the Christian philosophy governing the republic. It is incorporated by nature into man that he should live in civil society; for it is necessary for the habitation and preparation

animi perfectionem cum in solitudine adipisci non possit, provi-
sum divinitus est, ut ad coniunc-
tionem congregationemque ho-
minum nasceretur cum domesti-
cam, tum etiam civilem quæ sup-
peditare *vitaë sufficientiam per-
fectam* sola potest. Quoniam ve-
ro non potest societas ulla con-
sistere, nisi si aliquis omnibus
præsit, efficaci similique movens
singulos ad commune proposi-
tum impulsione, efficitur, civili
hominum communitati necessa-
riam esse auctoritatem, qua rega-
tur: quæ, non secus ac societas,
a natura proptereaque a Deo ip-
so oriatur auctore. — Ex quo il-
lud consequitur, potestatem pu-
blicam per se ipsam non esse nisi
a Deo. Solus enim Deus est veris-
simus maximusque rerum domi-
nus, cui subesse et servire omnia,
quæcumque sunt, necesse est: ita
ut quicumque ius imperandi ha-
bent, non id aliunde accipiant, ni-
si ab illo summo omnium princi-
pe Deo. *Non est potestas nisi a
Deo* (*Rom. XIII, 1*). — Ius au-
tem imperii per se non est cum ul-
la reipublicæ forma necessario co-
pulatam: aliam sibi vel aliam as-
sumere recte potest, modo utilita-
tis bonique communis reapse ef-
ficentem. Sed in quolibet genere
reipublicæ omnino principes de-

of life, and again he cannot gain
perfection of nature and mind
when he is alone; the Divinity
has provided that he is born into
the joining and gathering of men,
since it is domestic, and then
also civil, society which alone can
supply *a complete sufficiency of
life*. Because, in truth, any society
cannot persist unless someone
stands at its head, moving each
one by an effective and similar in-
fluence to a common intention,
it comes about that authority is
necessary for the civil community
of men, by which it might be
ruled; which, no different from
society also, arises by nature, and
therefore by God Himself, its au-
thor. — From which it follows
that public power does not ex-
ist through itself, but from God.
For God alone is the truest and
greatest lord of things, to Whom
all things whatsoever must sub-
mit and serve; thus, for anyone
to have the right to rule, they
may not receive it from any place
except from that highest prince
of all things, God. *There is no
power but from God* (*Rom. 13:1*).
— But the right of rule is not
in itself unavoidably joined with
any form of the republic: it can
be taken up rightly in one way
or another, in a way useful and

bent summum mundi gubernatorem Deum intueri, eumque sibimetipsis in administranda civitate tamquam exemplum legemque proponere. Deus enim, sicut in rebus, quæ sunt quæque cernuntur, causas genuit secundarias, in quibus perspicere aliqua ratione posset natura actioque divina, quæque ad eum finem, quo hæc rerum spectat universitas, conducerent: ita in societate civili voluit esse principatum, quem qui gererent, in imaginem quamdam divinæ in genus humanum potestatis divinæque providentiæ referrent. Debet igitur imperium justum esse, neque herile, sed quasi paternum, quia Dei justissima in homines potestas est et cum paterna bonitate coniuncta: gerendum vero est ad utilitatem civium, quia qui præsent ceteris, hac una de causa præsent, ut civitatis utilitatem tueantur. Neque ullo pacto committendum, unius ut, vel paucorum commodo serviat civilis auctoritas cum ad commune omnium bonum constituta sit. Quod si, qui præsent, delabantur in dominatum injustum, si importunitate superbiave peccaverint, si male populo consuluerint, sciant sibi rationem aliquando Deo esse reddendam, idque tanto severius,

truly effective for the common good. But in whatsoever form, the princes of the republic must always consider the highest governor of the world, God, and put Him forth for themselves as an example and law in the administration of the state. For God, as in things which are seen, gives rise to secondary causes, in which the divine nature and action can be perceived by a certain reason, and which lead to the end to which this universe of things tends; so in civil society He wishes that there be leadership, and that they who bear it bring back a certain image of the divine power and divine providence into the human race. Therefore, rule must be just; not tyrannical, but as if paternal, because the most just power of God is in men and is joined with paternal goodness; it must truly be wielded for the good of the citizens, because those who preside over others preside because of this one cause: that they defend the good of the state. Nor, by any pact, may the civil authority be committed to serve the advantage of one or of the few, because it was constituted for the common good of all. But if those who are in charge should fall into unjust rule, if they sin from

quanto vel sanctiore in munere versati sint, vel gradum dignitatis altiore obtinuerint. *Potentes potentior tormenta patientur* (*Sap. VI, 7*). — Ita sane majestatem imperii reverentia civum honesta et libens comitabitur. Etenim cum semel in animum induxerint, pollere, qui imperant auctoritate a Deo data, illa quidem officia justa ac debita esse sentient, dicto audientes esse principibus eisdemque obsequium ac fidem præstare cum quadam similitudine pietatis, quæ liberorum est erga parentes. *Omnis anima potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit* (*Rom. XIII, 1*). — Spernere quippe potestatem legitimam, quavis eam in persona esse constiterit, non magis licet, quam divinæ voluntati resistere: cui si qui resistent, in interitum ruunt voluntarium. *Qui resistit potestati, Dei ordinationi resistit; qui autem resistent, ipsi sibi damnationem acquirunt* (*Ibid. v. 2*). Quapropter obedientiam abjicere, et, per vim multitudinis, rem ad seditionem vocare est crimen majestatis, neque humanæ tantum, sed etiam divinæ.

recklessness or pride, if they take counsel for the evil of the people, they know that they must finally render their reason to God, and it will be more severe the holier their office or the higher level of dignity they obtain. *The mighty shall be mightily tormented* (*Wis 6:7*). — Thus, certainly, a willing and honest reverence of citizens accompanies the majesty of rule. And indeed, when once they enter into the mindset that those who rule exert power by the authority given by God, they feel the duty to be just and owed, and hearing what is said by those same princes they excel in compliance and faith with the same likeness of piety which pertains to children toward parents. *Let every soul be subject to higher powers* (*Rom 13:1*). — Of course, to scorn legitimate power, in whatever person it exists, is no more allowed than to resist the divine Will; if some people resist it, they rush to their willing ruin. *He that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God. And they that resist, purchase to themselves damnation.* (*Ibid. 5:2*) Wherefore, to cast aside obedience and, through the strength of the multitude, to call the republic to sedition, is a crime of majesty; not

Hac ratione constitutam civitatem, perspicuum est, omnino debere plurimis maximisque officiis, quæ ipsam jungunt Deo, religione publica satisfacere[.] — Natura et ratio, quæ jubet vel singulos sancte religioseque Deum colere, quod in ejus potestate sumus, et quod ab eo profecti ad eundem reverti debemus, eadem lege adstringit civilem communitatem. Homines enim communi societate conjuncti nihilo sunt minus in Dei potestate, quam singuli, neque minorem quam singuli gratiam Deo societas debet, quo auctore coaluit, cujus nutu conservatur, cujus beneficio innumerabilem bonorum, quibus affluit, copiam accepit. Quapropter sicut nemini licet sua adversus Deum officia negligere, officiumque est maximum amplecti et animo et moribus religionem, nec quam quisque maluerit, sed quam Deus jusserit, quamque certis minimeque dubitandis indiciis unam ex omnibus veram esse constiterit: eodem modo civitates non possunt, citra scelus, gerere se tamquam si Deus omnino non esset, aut curam religionis velut alienam nihilque profuturam abjicere, aut ascisce-

only of human majesty, but also of divine majesty.

It is clear that the state constituted by this principle must always, in its many and greatest duties (which join it to God), act sufficiently with public religion. — Nature and reason, which command everyone to worship God in a holy and religious way, because we are in His power and because we must be turned back to Him by Him, binds the civil community by the same law. For men joined together in common society are in the power of God no less than individually, nor does society owe less thanks to God than the individual, by which Author it joins together, by Whose command it is preserved, by Whose kindness it receives a countless abundance of the good things with which it abounds. Wherefore, just as it is permitted to no one to disregard his own duties towards God, and the greatest duty is to embrace in both mind and customs religion (not that which he might prefer, but that which God commands, and that which is evidently, with certain and the least doubtful judgments, the one true religion among all), in the same way states cannot, short of wickedness, bear

re de pluribus generibus indifferenter quod libeat: omninoque debent eum in colendo numine morem usurpare modumque, quo coli se Deus ipse demonstravit velle. — Sanctum igitur oportet apud principes esse Dei nomen: ponendumque, in præcipuis illorum officiis religionem gratia complecti, benevolentia tueri, auctoritate nutuque legum tegere, nec quippiam instituere aut decernere, quod sit ejus incolumitati contrarium. Id et civibus debent, quibus præsumunt. Nati enim susceptique omnes homines sumus ad summum quoddam et ultimum bonorum, quo sunt omnia consilia referenda extra hanc fragilitatem brevitateque vitæ in cælis collocatum. Quoniam autem hinc pendet hominum undique expleta ac perfecta felicitas, idcirco assequi eum, qui commemoratus est, finem tanti interest singulorum, ut pluris interesse non possit. Civilem igitur societatem communi utilitati natam, in tuenda prosperitate reipublicæ necesse est sic consulere civibus, ut obtinendo adipiscendoque summo illi atque incommutabili bono quod sponte appetunt, non modo nihil importet unquam incommodi, sed omnes quascumque pos-

themselves as if God is altogether absent, or cast aside concern for religion as alien and nothing useful, or adopt indifferently which of the many types it pleases; and they absolutely must use in worshipping Him that custom and manner by which God Himself has shown that He wishes to be worshipped. — Therefore, the Name of God must be holy before princes; and it must be added, to their particular duties, to embrace religion with grace, to defend it with good will, to protect it by the authority and command of the laws, nor to establish or decide anything which might be contrary to its safety. They also owe this to the citizens over whom they preside. For we, all men, are born and adopted for the final and highest of goods, located outside the fragility and brevity of this life, in heaven, to which all counsels must be referred. But because on this in every respect the full and complete happiness of men hangs, therefore it concerns the end of every individual to pursue Him, Who has been remembered, that he may not fall among the many. Therefore, it is necessary that a civil society born for the common utility, in uphold-

sit, opportunitates afferat. Quorum præcipua est, ut detur opera religioni sancte inviolateque servandæ, cujus officia hominem Deo conjungunt.

Vera autem religio quæ sit, non difficulter videt qui judicium prudens sincerumque adhibuerit; argumentis enim permultis atque illustribus, veritate nimirum vaticiniorum, prodigiorum frequentia, celerrima fidei vel per medios hostes ac maxima impedimenta propagatione, martyrum testimonio, aliisque similibus liquet, eam esse unice veram, quam Jesus Christus et instituit ipsemet et Ecclesiæ suæ tuendam propagandamque demandavit.

Nam unigenitus Dei filius societatem in terris constituit, quæ Ecclesia dicitur cui excelsum divinumque munus in omnes sæculorum ætates continuandum transmisit, quod Ipse a Patre ac-

ing the prosperity of the republic, must so look after citizens, that it not only brings in nothing in any way inconvenient for obtaining and gaining the highest and unchangeable good, which they seek by their own free will, but that it brings every opportunity that it can. It belongs especially to them, whose duties join men to God, that works be given to the protection of religion in a holy and inviolate way.

But what religion is true is not difficult to see for him who consults prudent and sincere judgment; for it is proven by many and brilliant arguments, by the truth beyond doubt of prophecies, by the frequency of miracles, by the quickest propagation of the Faith through the midst of enemies and the greatest obstacles, by the testimony of the martyrs, and by many other similar things, that only that one is true, which Jesus Christ both Himself founded, and entrusted to His Church to be defended and increased.

For the Only-Begotten Son of God founded a society on earth, which is called the Church, to which He gave the high and divine office, continuing through all the ages of the ages, which

ceperat. *Sicut misit me Pater, et ego mitto vos* (*Joan. XX, 21*). — *Ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem sæculi* (*Matth. XXVIII, 20*). Igitur sicut Jesus Christus in terras venit ut homines *vitam habeant et abundantius habeant* (*Joan. X, 10*), eodem modo Ecclesia propositum habet, tamquam finem, salutem animorum sempiternam: ob eamque rem talis est natura sua, ut porrigat sese ad totius complexum gentis humanæ, nullis nec locorum nec temporum limitibus circumscripta *Prædicate Evangelium omni creaturæ* (*Marc. XVI, 15*). Tam ingenti hominum multitudini Deus ipse magistratus assignavit, qui cum potestate præessent: unumque omnium principem, et maximum certissimumque veritatis magistrum esse voluit, cui claves regni cælorum commisit. *Tibi dabo claves regni cælorum* (*Matth. XVI, 19*) — *pasce agnos... pasce oves* (*Joan. XXI, 16–17*): *ego rogavi pro te, ut non deficiat fides tua* (*Luc. XXII, 32*). — Hæc societas, quamvis ex hominibus constet, non secus ac civilis communitas, tamen propter finem sibi constitutum, atque instrumenta, quibus ad finem contendit, su-

He Himself received from the Father. *As the Father hath sent me, I also send you* (*John 20:21*). — *Behold, I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world* (*Matt 28:20*). Therefore, just as Jesus Christ came to earth that men *may have life, and may have it more abundantly* (*John 10:10*), in the same way the Church has the goal, as an end, the eternal salvation of souls; and for the same reason her nature is such that she extends herself to the embrace of the whole human race, with no limits of either time or place around the command, *preach the Gospel to every creature* (*Mark 16:15*). So to the great multitude of men, God Himself assigned magistrates who preside with power; and He wishes that the one prince of all, the highest and most certain magistrate of truth, be the one to whom He committed the keys of the kingdom of heaven. *I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven* (*Matt 16:19*) — *Feed my lambs... feed my sheep* (*John 21:16–17*); *I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not* (*Luke 22:32*). This society, although it is made up from men just like the civil community, is nevertheless supernat-

pernaturalis est et spiritualis: atque idcirco distinguitur ac differt a societate civili: et, quod plurimum interest, societas est genere et jure perfecta, cum adjumenta ad incolumitatem actionemque suam necessaria, voluntate beneficioque conditoris sui, omnia in se et per se ipsa possideat. Sicut finis, quo tendit Ecclesia, longe nobilissimus est, ita ejus potestas est omnium præstantissima, neque imperio civili potest haberi inferior, aut eidem esse ullo modo obnoxia. — Revera Jesus Christus Apostolis suis libera mandata dedit in sacra, adjuncta tum ferendarum legum veri nominis facultate, tum gemina, quæ hinc consequitur, judicandi puniendique potestate. « *Data est mihi omnis potestas in celo et in terra: euntes ergo docete omnes gentes... docentes eos servare omnia quaecumque mandavi vobis* » (Matth. XXVIII, 18–20). Et alibi: « *Si non audierit eos, dic Ecclesie* » (Matth. XVIII, 17). Atque iterum: « *In promptu habentes ulcisci omnem inobedientiam.* » (II Cor. X, 6) Rursus: « *Durius agam secundum potestatem, quam Dominus dedit mihi in ædificationem et non in destructionem.* » (Ibid. XIII, 10) Itaque dux hominibus esse ad cæ-

ural and spiritual, established for the sake of her own end, as are her instruments by which she reaches for her end; and therefore she is distinguished and differs from civil society; and, what is most important, she is a complete society in type and law, since she possesses in herself and through herself every support necessary for her own safety and action by the will and kindness of her Founder. Just as the end to which the Church tends is far the most noble, so also her power is the most noble of all, nor can it be held lower than the civil rule, or be in any way liable to the same. In fact, Jesus Christ gave to His Apostles the free commands for sacred things, joined to the ability of making laws truly so called, and then the twin power of judging and punishing which follow from it. “*All power is given to me in heaven and in earth. Going therefore, teach ye all nations... Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you*” (Matt 28:18–20). And elsewhere: “*And if he will not hear them: tell the Church*” (Matt 18:17). And again: “*And having in readiness to revenge every disobedience*” (II Cor 10:6). Again: “*I may not deal more*

lestia, non civitas sed Ecclesia debet: eidemque hoc est munus assignatum a Deo, ut de iis quæ religionem attingunt, videat ipsa et statuat: ut doceat omnes gentes: ut christiani nominis fines, quoad potest, late proferat; brevi, ut rem christianam libere expediteque iudicio suo administret. — Hanc vero auctoritatem in se ipsa absolutam planeque sui juris, quæ ab assentatrice principum philosophia jamdiu oppugnatur, Ecclesia sibi asserere itemque publice exercere numquam desiit, primis omnium pro ea propugnantibus Apostolis, qui cum disseminare Evangelium a principibus Synagogæ prohiberentur, constanter respondebant, *obedire oportet Deo magis, quam hominibus* (*Act. V, 29*). Eadem sancti Ecclesiæ Patres rationum momentis tueri pro opportunitate studuerunt: romanique Pontifices invicta animi constantia adversus oppugnatores vindicare numquam prætermiserunt. Quin etiam et opinione et re eadem probarunt ipsi principes rerumque publicarum gubernatores, ut qui paciscendo, transigendis negotiis mittendis vicissimque accipiendis legatis, atque aliorum mutatione officiorum, agere cum Ecclesia tamquam cum su-

severely, according to the power which the Lord hath given me unto edification, and not unto destruction." (*Ibid. 13:10*) Therefore, men's leader to heavenly things must be not the state but the Church; and this is the office given by God to the same, that concerning those things which touch on religion, she may see and decide; that she may teach all nations; that the ends of the Christian name, as long as they can be, may be advanced widely; in short, that she may administer the Christian mission freely and unencumbered, with her own judgment. — Truly, the Church has never ceased to assert for herself and likewise to exercise publicly this absolute authority over herself, plainly and of her own law, which is already long opposed by philosophy flattering to princes: first of all by the fighting Apostles, who when they were prohibited from disseminating the Gospel by the princes of the synagogue, constantly answered, *We ought to obey God, rather than men* (*Acts 5:29*). The Fathers of the Holy Church were eager for the opportunity to uphold the same by the movements of reason: and the Roman Pontiffs, with an unconquered steady-

prema potestate legitima consueverunt. — Neque profecto sine singulari providentis Dei consilio factum esse censendum est, ut hæc ipsa potestas principatu civili, velut optima libertatis suæ tutela, muniretur.

Itaque Deus humani generis procurationem inter duas potestates partitus est, scilicet ecclesiasticam et civilem, alteram quidem divinis, alteram humanis rebus præpositam. Utraque est in suo genere maxima: habet utraque certos, quibus contineatur, terminos, eosque sua cujusque naturâ causâque proximâ definitos; unde aliquis velut orbis circumscribitur, in quo sua cujusque actio jure proprio versetur. Sed quia utriusque imperium est in eosdem, cum usuvenire (*Ed's note: "Usuvenire" is also not a normal Latin word; we have interpreted this as "hap-*

ness of mind, never failed to vindicate it against opponents. Moreover, princes themselves and the governors of republics have approved the same in both opinion and deed, by completing business, by sending and in turn receiving envoys, and by the changing of other duties to work with the Church just as if she was invested with the supreme legitimate power. — Nor, surely, must it be thought that this was done without the special counsel of the Provident God, that this power itself is fortified with a civil rulership, just as if it was the best guardian of her own liberty.

Therefore God has divided the care of the human race between two powers; of course, the ecclesiastical and the civil, one indeed established for divine things, and the other for human things. Each is supreme for its own type; each has certain ends, by which it is contained, and which are defined by their own nature and proximate cause; whence a thing is contained as by a sphere, in which the actions of each is moved by its own proper law. But because the rule of each is toward the same objects, since it can happen in practice that one and the

pen in practice") possit, ut res una atque eadem, quamquam aliter atque aliter, sed tamen eadem res ad utriusque jus iudiciumque pertineat, debet providentissimus Deus, a quo sunt ambæ constitutæ, utriusque itinera recte atque ordine composuisse. *Quæ autem sunt a Deo ordinatæ sunt* (*Rom. XIII, 1*). Quod ni ita esset, funestarum sæpe contentionum concertationumque causæ nascerentur; nec raro sollicitus animi, velut in via ancipiti hædere homo deberet, anxius quid factu opus esset, contraria iubentibus binis potestatibus, quarum recusare imperium, salvo officio, non potest. Atqui maxime istud repugnat de sapientia cogitare et bonitate Dei, qui vel in rebus physicis, quamquam sunt longe inferioris ordinis, tamen naturales vires causasque invicem conciliavit moderata ratione et quodam velut concentu mirabili, ita ut nulla earum impediatur ceteras, cunctæque simul illuc, quo mundus spectat, convenienter aptissimeque conspirent. — Itaque inter utramque potestatem quædam intercedat necesse est ordinata colligatio: quæ quidem conjunctioni non immerito comparatur, per quam anima et corpus in homi-

same thing, though it is often otherwise, but nevertheless the same thing touches upon the law and judgment of both, the most provident God, by Whom both are established, must have composed the paths of both rightly and in order. *And those that are, are ordained of God* (*Rom 13:1*). Because if it were not thus, the causes of deadly struggle and strife would often be born, nor seldom would men be worried and anxious of mind when they do an act, as if a man must cling onto a forked road, contrary to the two commanding powers, deciding which rule he cannot reject while keeping his duty. However, it is supremely repugnant to think that about the wisdom and goodness of God, Who even in physical things, although they are of a far lower order, nevertheless united natural power and causes to one another with controlled reason and a certain marvelous harmony, so that none of them might hinder the others, and all may likewise be there for the world to see, united most fittingly and appropriately. — And thus, a certain well-ordered connection must pass between each power, which indeed is not unjustly compared

ne copulantur. Qualis autem et quanta ea sit, aliter judicari non potest, nisi respiciendo, ut diximus, ad utriusque naturam, habendâque ratione excellentiæ et nobilitatis caussarum; cum alteri proxime maximeque propositum sit rerum mortalium curare commoda, alteri cælestia ac sempiterna bona comparare. — Quidquid igitur est in rebus humanis quoquo modo sacrum, quidquid ad salutem animorum cultumve Dei pertinet, sive tale illud sit natura sua, sive rursus tale intelligatur propter causam ad quam refertur, id est omne in potestate arbitrioque Ecclesiæ: cetera vero, quæ civile et politicum genus complectitur, rectum est civili auctoritati esse subjecta, cum Jesus Christus jusserit, quæ Cæsaris sint, reddi Cæsari, quæ Dei, Deo. — Incidunt autem quandoque tempora, eum alius quoque concordia modus ad tranquillam libertatem valet, nimirum si qui principes rerum publicarum et Pontifex romanus de re aliqua separata in idem placitum consenserint. Quibus Ecclesia temporibus maternæ pietatis eximia documenta præbet cum facilitatis indulgentiæque tantum adhibere soleat, quantum maxime potest.

to the union through which the soul and the body are connected in man. But it should be of such a type and amount that it cannot otherwise be judged, except by looking back, as We have said, to the nature of both, and having the justification of the excellence and nobility of the causes; since to the one is given to care closely and carefully for the advantages of mortal things, to the other is given to prepare heavenly and eternal goods. — Whatever, therefore, is sacred in any way in human things, whatever pertains to the salvation of souls or the worship of God, either because of its nature itself, or because it is understood on account of its cause to be referred to such, all such are in the power and judgment of the Church: for the rest, in truth, which the civil and political type embraces, is rightly subject to the civil authority, since Jesus Christ commanded that what is Caesar's be given to Caesar, and what is God's, to God. — But at some times it happens that, when the manner of some other agreement for peaceful liberty prevails, without doubt, those who are princes of republics and the Roman Pontiff may agree about some specific matter for

Ejusmodi est, quam summam attigimus, civilis hominum societatis christiana temperatio, et hæc non temere neque ad libidinem ficta, sed ex maximis ducta verissimisque principiis, quæ ipsa naturali ratione confirmantur.

Talis autem conformatio rei publicæ nihil habet, quod possit aut minus videri dignum amplitudine principum, aut parum decorum: tantumque abest ut jura majestatis imminuat ut potius stabiliora atque augustiora faciat. Immo, si altius consideretur, habet illa conformatio perfectionem quamdam magnam, qua earent ceteri rerum publicarum modi: ex eaque fructus essent sane excellentes et varii consecuturi, si modo suam partes singulæ gradum tenerent, atque illud integre efficerent, cui unaquæque præposita est, officium et munus. — Revera in ea, quam ante diximus, constitutione rei publicæ, sunt quidem divina atque humana convenienti ordine partita: incolumbia civium ju-

the same gain. In such times, the Church presents special proofs of maternal piety, since she is accustomed to summon so much ease and indulgence as greatly as she can.

The Christian regulation of the civil society of men is of this sort, which We have briefly touched upon, not rashly nor with a feigned passion, but led from the greatest and truest principles, which themselves are confirmed by natural reason.

But such a form of the republic has nothing which should either be seen as less worthy than the greatness of princes, or lacking in splendor; and it is utterly absent that the laws of majesty should diminish; rather, it makes them more stable and majestic. No indeed, if it is considered more deeply, this form has a great perfection in which other modes of the republic are lacking, and the fruits which will follow from it are certainly many and excellent, if only each part holds its own place and honestly executes it, whatever duty and office is proposed to it. — In fact, in that constitution of the republic which We spoke of before, there are indeed divine and human shares in a suitable order; the rights of citi-

ra, eademque divinarum, naturalium, humanarumque legum patrocinio defensa: officiorum singulorum cum sapienter constituta descriptio, tum opportunè sancita (*Ed.'s note: "sancita" does not seem to be a normal Latin form. Your translator has interpreted this as "sancta", from "sancire", to confirm, ratify, or ordain*) custodia. Singuli homines in hoc ad sempiternam illam civitatem dubio laboriosoque curriculo sibi sciunt præsto esse, quos tuto sequantur ad ingrediendum duces, ad perveniendum adjutores: pariterque intelligunt, sibi alios esse ad securitatem, ad fortunas, ad commoda cetera, quibus communis hæc vita constat, vel parienda vel conservanda datos. — Societas domestica eam, quam par est firmitudinem adipiscitur ex unius atque individui sanctitate conjugii: iura officiaque inter conjuges sapienti justitia et æquitate reguntur: debitum conservatur mulieri decus: auctoritas viri ad exemplum est auctoritatis Dei conformata: temperata patria potestas convenienter dignitatis uxoris prolisque: denique liberorum tuitioni, commodis, institutioni optime consulitur. In genere rerum politi-

zens are unharmed, and the same of the divine, of natural, and of human things are defended by the protection of the laws; the description of each office, when wisely established, then have a protection fittingly ordained. Every man in this doubtful and laborious course to that eternal city knows that he has at ready leaders whom he may safely follow in entering and helpers for reaching it; and they equally understand that some are given to them either to establish or to preserve security, luck, or other advantages, on which this common life is based. — Domestic society gains an equal stability from the holiness of the one and indivisible wedlock; the rights and duties between spouses are ruled by a surrounding justice and equity; a due glory is preserved for woman; the authority of the man is conformed to the example of the authority of God; fatherly power is worthily tempered for the dignity of wife and children; finally, the protection, advantages, and instruction of children is best assured. In this political and civil type of republic, the laws look to the common good; they are directed not to the will and fallacious judgment of the multi-

co et civili, leges spectant commune bonum, neque voluntate iudicioque fallaci multitudinis, sed veritate iustitiaque diriguntur: auctoritas principum sanctitudinem quamdam induit humana majorem, contineturque ne declinet a iustitia; neu modum in imperando transiliat: obedientia civium habet honestatem dignitatemque comitem, quia non est hominis ad hominem servitus, sed obtemperatio voluntati Dei, regnum per homines exercentis. Quo cognito ac persuaso, omnino ad iustitiam pertinere illa intelliguntur, vereri maiestatem principum, subesse constanter et fideliter potestati publicæ, nihil seditiose facere, sanctam servare disciplinam civitatis. Similiter ponitur in officiis caritas mutua, benignitas, liberalitas: non distrahitur in contrarias partes, pugnantibus inter se præceptis, civis idem et christianus: denique amplissima bona, quibus mortalem quoque hominum vitam christiana religio sua sponte explet, communitati societatique civili omnia quærentur: ita ut illud appareat verissime dictum, « pendet a religione, qua Deus colitur, rei publicæ status: multaque inter hunc et illam cognatio et familiaritas intercedit. » (*Sa-*

tude, but to truth and justice; the human authority of princes puts on a certain higher sanctity, and is kept lest it decline away from justice, and not leap over its limit in ruling; the obedience of the citizens has honesty and dignity as a companion, for it is not the service of a man to a man, but obedience to the will of God, exercising royal power through men. Being acquainted with and persuaded by this, it is understood that these things entirely relate to justice: to revere the majesty of princes, to be firmly and faithfully subject to public power, to do nothing seditiously, to preserve the holy teaching of the state. Similarly, a mutual charity, kindness, and liberality is placed among duties; the same citizen and Christian is not pulled apart into contrary parts, precepts fighting among themselves. Finally, everyone seeks for the community and civil society the greatest goods by which the Christian religion fulfills, out of her own will, the mortal life of men: thus, it appears to be most truly said: "the state of the republic hangs from religion, by which God is worshipped: and much knowledge and intimacy falls between one and the

cr. Imp. ad Cyrillum Alexand. et Episcopus metrop. — Cfr. Labbeum Collect. Conc. T. III) — Eorum vim bonorum mirabiliter, uti solet, persecutus est Augustinus pluribus locis, maxime vero ubi Ecclesiam catholicam appellat iis verbis: « Tu pueriliter pueros, fortiter juvenes, quiete senes, prout cujusque non corporis tantum, sed et animi ætas est, exerces ac doces. Tu feminas viris suis non ad explendam libidinem, sed ad propagandam prolem, et ad rei familiaris societatem, casta et fideli obedientia subjicis. Tu viros conjugibus, non ad illudendum imbecilliores sexum, sed sinceri amoris legibus præficias. Tu parentibus filios libera quadam servitute subjungis, parentes filiis pia dominatione præponis... Tu cives civibus, tu gentes gentibus, et prorsus homines primorum parentum recordatione, non societatem tantum, sed quadam etiam fraternitate conjungis. Doces reges prospicere populis, mones populos se subdere regibus. Quibus honor debeatur quibus affectus, quibus reverentia, quibus timor, quibus consolatio, quibus admonitio, quibus cohortatio, quibus disciplina, quibus objurgatio, quibus supplicium, sedulo doces: ostendens

other” (*Sacr. Imp. ad Cyrillum Alexand. et Episcopus metrop. — Cfr. Labbeum Collect. Conc. T. III*). Augustine marvelously followed up on the strength of these good things, as he was accustomed to do, especially when he brings up the Catholic Church in these words: “You train and teach children childishly, young men with strength, old men with quiet, exactly as the age of their bodies, so also their soul. You place women in chaste and faithful obedience to their husbands, not for satisfying their wantonness, but for the propagation of children and for the society of the family. You put men in charge of their wives, not for mocking the weaker sex, but for the laws of a sincere love. You submit children to their parents in a certain free servitude, you place parents over children in an upright mastery... You join together citizens to citizens, nations to nations, and, in short, men by the memory of their first parents, not only in society, but even in a certain brotherhood. You teach kings to provide for the peoples, you warn peoples to submit themselves to kings. You carefully teach to whom honor, to whom affection, to whom reverence, to

quemadmodum et non omnibus omnia, et omnibus caritas, et nulli debeat injuria. » (*De moribus Eccl. cath., cap. XXXX, n. 63*)

— Idemque alio loco male sapientes reprehendens politicos philosophos: « Qui doctrinam Christi adversam dicunt esse reipublicæ, dent exercitum talem quales doctrina Christi esse milites jussit, dent tales provinciales, tales maritos, tales conjuges, tales parentes, tales filios, tales dominos, tales servos, tales reges, tales judices, tales denique debitorum ipsius fisci redditores et exactores quales esse præcipit doctrina christiana, et audeant eam dicere adversam esse reipublicæ, immo vero non dubitent eam confiteri magnam, si obtemperetur, salutem esse reipublicæ. » (*Epist. CXX-XVIII (al. 5) ad Marcellinum, cap. II, n. 15*)

Fuit aliquando tempus, cum evangelica philosophia gubernaret civitates: quo tempore christianæ sapientiæ vis illa et divina virtus in leges, instituta, mores populorum, in omnes rei-

whom fear, to whom comfort, to whom advice, to whom encouragement, to whom teaching, to whom reproach, to whom punishment is owed; showing how everything is not owed to all, and charity is owed to all, and injury is owed to none" (*De moribus Eccl. cath., cap. XXX, n. 63*). And in another place, blaming political philosophers badly understanding these things: "Let they who say that the teaching of Christ is contrary to the republic give such an army as the teaching of Christ commands soldiers to be; give such princes, such husbands, such wives, such parents, such children, such lords, such servants, such kings, such judges, and finally such payers and collectors of debt itself as Christian doctrine commanded them to be, and let them dare to say that this is contrary to the republic; no indeed, let them not doubt to confess that this great thing, if it is obeyed, is the salvation of the republic" (*Epist. CXXXVIII (al. 5) ad Marcellinum, cap. II, n. 15*).

There was a time when the philosophy of the Gospel governed states; in that time, the strength of Christian wisdom and the divine virtue penetrated the laws, the customs, the morals

publicæ ordines rationesque penetraverat: cum religio per Jesum Christum instituta in eo, quo æquum erat, dignitatis gradu firmiter collocata, gratia principum legitimâque magistratuum tutelâ ubique floreret: cum sacerdotium atque imperium concordia et amica officiorum vicissitudo auspiciato conjungeret. Eoque modo composita civitas fructus tulit omni opinione majores, quorum viget memoria et vige-
bat innumerabilibus rerum gestarum consignata monumentis, quæ nulla adversariorum arte corrumpi aut obscurari possunt. — Quod Europa christiana barbaras gentes edomuit, easque a feritate ad mansuetudinem, a superstitione ad veritatem traduxit: quod Maomethanorum incursiones victrix propulsavit: quod civilis cultus principatum retinuit, et ad omne decus humanitatis ducem se magistrâque præbere ceteris consuevit: quod germanam libertatem eamque multiplicem gratificata populis est: quod complura ad miseriarum solatium sapientissime instituit, sine controversia magnam debet gratiam religioni, quam ad tantas res suscipiendas habuit auspiciem, ad perficiendas adjutricem. — Mansissent profecto ea-

of peoples, in all the orders and reasons of the republic; since the religion established by Jesus Christ was established in it, firmly located in a position of dignity, in which it was right; by the grace of princes and the legitimate guardianship of its offices, she flourished everywhere; then the priesthood and the civil rule were happily joined together in harmony and friendly change of duties. The state composed in the same way bore fruit greater than every opinion; the memory of these things is strong, and has been strong due to countless monuments of great deeds, which can be darkened or corrupted by no art of our enemies. — Because Christian Europe subdued the barbarian tribes, and led them from wildness to gentleness, from superstition to truth; because she, the victor, repulsed the attacks of the Mohammedans; because she retained the primacy of civil worship, and she accustomed herself to be the leader and teacher of every glory of humanity for others; because she bestowed to the peoples genuine and versatile freedom; because she established, most wisely, many things for the comfort of the wretched;

dem bona, si utriusque potestatis concordia mansisset: majoraque expectari jure poterant, si auctoritati, si magisterio, si consilii Ecclesiæ majore esset cum fide perseverantiaque obtemperatum. Illud enim perpetuæ legis instar habendum est, quod Ivo Carnutensis ad Paschalem II Pontificem maximum perscripsit, « cum regnum et sacerdotium inter se conveniunt, bene regitur mundus, floret et fructificat Ecclesia. Cum vero inter se discordant, non tantum parvæ res non crescunt, sed etiam magnæ res miserabiliter dilabuntur. » (*Ep. CCXXXVIII*)

Sed pernicioosa illa ac deploranda rerum novarum studia, quæ sæculo XIV excitata sunt, cum primum religionem christianam miscuissent, mox naturali quodam itinere ad philosophiam, a philosophia ad omnes civilis communitatis ordines pervenerunt. Ex hoc velut fonte repe-

without controversy she owes great thanks to the religion which she had, the patroness of taking up such things, the helper for completing them. — Surely these same good things would have remained, if the harmony of both powers had remained; and greater things could be looked for by right, if she was obedient to the authority, magisterium, and counsel of the Church with a greater faith and steadfastness. For that must be the image of the perpetual law, as Ivo of Chartres wrote to Pascal II, the supreme Pontiff: “When the kingdom and the priesthood come together among themselves, the world is well-ruled, the Church blooms and bears fruit. When, indeed, they quarrel among themselves, not only do the small things not grow, but even the great things miserably slip away” (*Ep. CCXXXVIII*).

But that destructive and deplorable eagerness for new things which was stirred up in the fourteenth century, when first it mixed up the Christian religion, soon by a certain natural journey reached to philosophy, and then reached from philosophy to all the orders of the civil community.

tenda illa recentiora effrenatæ libertatis capita, nimirum in maximis perturbationibus superiore sæculo excogitata in medioque proposita, perinde ac principia et fundamenta *novi juris*, quod et fuit antea ignotum et a jure non solum christiano, sed etiam naturali plus una ex parte discrepat. — Eorum principiorum illud est maximum, omnes homines, quemadmodum genere naturæque similes intelliguntur, ita reapse esse in actione vitæ inter se pares: unumquemque ita esse sui iuris, ut nullo modo sit alterius auctoritati obnoxius: cogitare de re qualibet quæ velit, agere quod lubeat, libere posse: imperandi aliis jus esse in nemine. His informata disciplinis societate, principatus non est nisi populi voluntas, qui, ut in sui ipsius unice est potestate, ita sibimetipsi solus imperat: deligit autem, quibus se committat, ita tamen ut imperii non tam jus, quam munus in eos transferat, idque suo nomine exercendum. In silentio jacet dominatio divina, non secus ac vel Deus aut nullus esset, aut humani generis societatem nihil curaret, vel homines sive singuli sive sociati nihil Deo deberent, vel principatus cogitari posset ullus, cujus non in Deo ipso causa

From this, just as from a font, come the repeated and more recent heads of unbridled liberty, without a doubt invented in the greatest disturbances of the last century and placed in our midst, and likewise the principles and foundations of a *new law*, which was both heretofore unknown and not only differs from Christian law, but even from more than one part from the natural law. — It is the greatest of these principles that all men are understood to be alike in their kind and nature, and so of course are equal among themselves in the action of life; any one of whom is therefore of his own right, that he be liable in no way to the authority of another; that he may be able to freely think about a matter however he wills and to do what he pleases; the right of ruling others is in no one. In a society informed by these teachings, there is no leadership except the will of the people, who, as it is uniquely in its own power, so also rules itself alone; but it chooses to whom it entrusts itself, in such manner, however, that not so much the right of ruling, but the office transfers into them, and it must be exercised in its own name. The di-

et vis et auctoritas tota resideat. Quo modo, ut perspicitur, est respublica nihil aliud nisi magistra et gubernatrix sui multitudo: cumque populus omnium jurium omnique potestatis fontem in se ipse continere dicatur, consequens erit, ut nulla ratione officii obligatam Deo se civitas putet ut religionem publice profiteatur nullam; nec debeat ex pluribus quæ vera sola sit, quærere, nec unam quamdam ceteris antepone, nec uni maxime favere, sed singulis generibus æqualitatem juris tribuere ad eum finem, dum disciplina reipublicæ ne quid ab illis detrimenti capiat. Consentaneum erit, iudicio singulorum permittere omnem de religione quæstionem; licere cuique aut sequi quam ipse malit, aut omnino nullam, si nullam probet. Hinc profecto illa nascuntur; exlex uniuscujusque conscientiæ iudicium; liberrimæ de Deo colendo, de non colendo, sententiæ; infinita tum cogitandi, tum cogitata publicandi licentia.

vine mastery lies down in silence; in another way, either there is no God, or He cares nothing for the society of the human race, or men either individually or in society owe nothing to God, or any leadership can be considered of which the very cause, strength, and whole authority does not reside in God. In this way, as is seen, the republic is nothing but the mistress and governess of a multitude; and when the people itself speaks to secure the font of all rights and all power in itself, it will follow that the state thinks itself obligated for no reason of duty to God, that it should publicly favor no religion; nor must it seek the one out of many which alone is true, nor to set that one before the many, nor to favor one the most; but to grant equality in right to every type for its end, as long as the discipline of the republic does not take anything of harm from them. It will be agreeable to entrust to the judgment of each every question of religion; each will take for himself either to follow that which he prefers, or none whatsoever if he approves of none. From here, these things have certainly already been born: judgment is bound by no law of

His autem positis, quæ maxime probantur hoc tempore, fundamentis reipublicæ, facile apparet, quem in locum quamque iniquum compellatur Ecclesia. — Nam ubi cum ejusmodi doctrinis actio rerum consentiat, nomini catholico par cum societatibus ab eo alienis vel etiam inferior locus in civitate tribuitur: legum ecclesiasticarum nulla habetur ratio. Ecclesia, quæ jussu mandatoque Jesu Christi docere omnes debet, publicam populi institutionem jubetur nihil attingere. — De ipsis rebus, quæ sunt mixti juris, per se statuunt gubernatores rei civili arbitrato suo, in eoque genere sanctissimas Ecclesiæ leges superbe contemnunt. Quare ad jurisdictionem suam trahunt matrimonia christianorum, decernendo etiam de maritali vinculo, de unitate, de stabilitate conjugii: movent possessiones clericorum, quod res suas Ecclesiam tenere posse negant. Ad summam, sic agunt cum Ecclesia ut societatis perfectæ genere et juribus opinione detractis, plane si-

any conscience of anyone whatsoever; unrestrained opinions about worshipping or not worshipping God; then the infinite license in thinking, then of publishing those thoughts.

But it easily appears that the Church is driven into an evil position by the things above put forth for the foundations of the republic, which are greatly approved by this time. — For when the course of things agrees with doctrines of this type, a place in the state equal with those societies alien to her, or even a lower place, is assigned to the Catholic name; no justification in the ecclesiastical laws can be had. The Church, which by the command and mandate of Jesus Christ must teach all nations, is commanded to touch nothing of the public establishment of the people. — Concerning those things which are of mixed right, they establish governors, through themselves, for the civil part by their own choice, and in the same matter they proudly look down upon the most holy laws of the Church. Why they drag into their own jurisdiction the marriages of Christians, judging even concerning the marital bond and the unity and stability

milem habeant ceterarum communitatum, quas respublica continet: ob eamque rem si quid illa juris, si quid possidet facultatis ad agendum legitimæ, possidere dicitur concessu beneficioque principum civitatis. — Si qua vero in republica suum Ecclesia jus, ipsis civilibus legibus probantibus, teneat, publiceque inter utramque potestatem pactio aliqua facta sit, principio clamant, dissociari Ecclesiæ rationes a reipublicæ rationibus oportere; idque eo consilio, ut facere contra interpositam fidem impune liceat, omniumque rerum habere, remotis impedimentis, arbitrium. — Id vero cum patienter ferre Ecclesia non possit, neque enim potest officia deserere sanctissima et maxima, omninoque postulet, ut obligata sibi fides integre religioseque solvatur, sæpe sacram inter ac civilem potestatem dimicationes nascuntur, quarum ille ferme est exitus, alteram, ut quæ minus est opibus humanis valida, alteri ut validiori succumbere.

of wedlock; they move the possessions of clerics, because they deny that the Church may possess its own things. Most seriously, although the Church is in the type of a perfect society, her rights having been stripped away, they place her equal to other communities which the republic contains; because of this reason, if she has something of right, if she has a legitimate faculty for acting, she is said to possess it by the concession and kindness of the princes of the state. — If the Church truly has her own right in this republic, with the civil laws themselves approving, and an agreement has been made publicly between each power, they cry in the beginning that the reasons of the Church must be dissociated from the reasons of the republic; and for this reason, that it may act against the introduced faith with impunity, and have the judgment of all things with all obstacles removed. — The Church truly cannot bear it patiently, for she cannot desert her holiest and highest duties, and she asks that the obliged faith be entirely, wholly, and religiously loosed; often fights are born between the sacred and civil power, of which the end is usually that

Ita Ecclesiam, in hoc rerum publicarum statu, qui nunc a plebisque adamat, mos et voluntas est, aut prorsus de medio pellere, aut vincam adstrictamque imperio tenere. Quæ publice aguntur, eo consilio magnam partem aguntur. Leges, administratio civitatum, expers religionis adolescentium institutio, spoliatio excidiumque ordinum religiosorum, eversio principatus civilis Pontificum romanorum, huc spectant omnia, incidere nervos institutorum christianorum, Ecclesiæque catholicæ et libertatem in angustum deducere, et jura cetera comminuere.

Ejusmodi de regenda civitate sententias ipsa naturalis ratio convincit, a veritate dissidere plurimum. — Quidquid enim potestatis usquam est, a Deo tamquam maximo augustissimoque fonte proficisci, ipsa natura testatur. Imperium autem populare, quod, nullo ad Deum respectu, in multitudine inesse natura dicitur, si præclare ad suppeditandum valet blandimenta et flammam multarum cupiditatum, nulla quidem nititur ratione probabili, neque satis habere virium

the one which is less strong in human powers succumbs to the other which is greater.

Thus, in this state of the republic which is loved now by so many, the Church is either driven utterly out of the midst, or is held bound and restricted by the ruler. What is done publicly is done in great part for this reason. The laws, the administration of states, the free establishment of new religions, the plundering and ruin of religious orders, the destruction of the civil leadership of the Roman pontiffs, all things look here: to cut into the nerves of Christian institutions, and to lead the liberty of the Catholic Church to a narrow place, and to reduce her other rights.

Natural reason itself convicts these statements about ruling the state as being greatly at variance from the truth. — For nature itself testifies that whatever anywhere is of power proceeds from God as from the greatest and most august source. But popular rule, which with no consideration for God is said to dwell in the multitude by nature, so clearly tends to the provision of charms and the flames of many desires, that it rests upon no probable justification, nor

poteſt ad ſecuritatem publicam quietamque ordinis conſtantiam. Revera hiſ doct̄rinis reſ inclinaverit uſque eo, ut hæc a pluribus tamquam lex in civili prudentia ſanciat̄ur, ſeditioneſ poſſe iure conſlari. Valet enim opinio, nihilo principes pluris eſſe, quam delectoſ quodaſ, qui voluntatem popularem exequantur: ex quo fit, quod neceſſe eſt, ut omnia ſint pariter cum populi arbitrio mutabilia, et timor aliquiſ turbarum ſemper impendeat.

De religione autem putare, nihil inter formaſ diſpareſ et contrariaſ intereſſe, hunc plane habet exitum, nolle ullam probare iudicio, nolle uſu. Atqui iſtud ab atheiſmo, ſi nomine aliquid differt, re nihil differt. Quibus enim Deum eſſe perſuaſum eſt, ii, modo conſtare ſibi neceſſe perabſurdi velint, neceſſario intelligunt, uſitataſ in cultu divino rationeſ, quarum tanta eſt differentia maximique etiam de rebus diſſimilitudo et pugna, æque probabileſ, æque bonæ, æque Deo acceptæ eſſe omneſ non poſſe.

can it have enough ſtrength for the public ſafety and the reſtful ſteadineſſ of order. In fact, things have bowed ſo far to it by theſe teachings, that the law iſ ſanct̄ioned by many in civil prudence that ſeditionſ can be enflamed by right. For opinion iſ ſtrong that the princeſ of the many are for nothing, but for thoſe things ſelect̄ed which follow the popular will; from which what iſ neceſſary happenſ, that everythiſ iſ equally changeable with the popular will, and a certain fear of the crowdſ always threatenſ.

But to think about religion that nothing lieſ between unlike and contrary formaſ clearly haſ this end: to not want to teſt anythiſ in judgment, to not want [to teſt anythiſ] in uſe. But that iſ from atheiſm; if it differeſ in name, it differeſ nothing in truth. For to thoſe who are perſuaſed that God exiſtſ, unleſ they wiſh to ſtand abſurdly with themſelveſ, they underſtand neceſſarily that the uſual juſtificationſ in the divine worſhip (of which there iſ ſo much difference, and diſſimilarity and conflict̄ in even the greateſt thingſ) cannot be equally commendable, equally good, equally accepted

Sic illa quidlibet sentiendi litterarumque formis quidlibet exprimendi facultas, omni moderatione posthabita, non quoddam est propria vi sua bonum, quo societas humana jure lætetur: sed multorum malorum fons et origo. — Libertas, ut quæ virtus est hominem perficiens, debet in eo quod verum sit, quodque bonum, versari: boni autem verique ratio mutari ad hominis arbitrium non potest, sed manet semper eadem, neque minus est, quam ipsa rerum natura, incommutabilis. Si mens adsentiat opinionibus falsis, si malum voluntas adsumat et ad id se applicet, perfectionem sui neutra consequitur, sed excidunt dignitate naturali et in corruptelam ambæ delabuntur. Quæcumque sunt igitur virtuti veritatisque contraria, ea in luce atque in oculis hominum ponere non est æquum: gratia tutelave legum defendere, multo minus. Sola bene acta vita via in cælum, quo tendimus universi: ob eamque rem aberrat civitas a regula et præscriptione naturæ si licentiam opinionem praveque factorum in tantum lascivire sinat, ut impune liceat mentes a veritate, animos a virtute deducere. — Ecclesiam vero, quam Deus

by God.

So also that faculty of feeling whatever things, and of expressing those things in the forms of letters, setting aside all moderation, is not a good in its own proper power in which human society can rightly rejoice, but it is the source and origin of many evils. — Liberty, which is a virtue completing man, must be in itself turned to something true, something good; but the reason of the good and the true cannot be changed for the will of man, but remains always the same, nor is it less unchangeable than the nature of things itself. If the mind assents to false opinions, if an evil will takes up and applies itself to it, neither obtains its own perfection, but both are cut off from natural dignity and will fall down into corruption. Therefore, whatever things are contrary to virtue and truth, it is not just to put in the light and eyes of men, much less defend by the grace or guardianship of the laws. Only a life, well-spent, is the road into heaven, to which we all strive; on account of the same thing, the state wanders from the rule and precept of nature if it perversely allows license, opinion, and such deeds

ipse constituit, ab actione vitæ excludere, a legibus, ab institutione adolescentium, a societate domestica, magnus et perniciosus est error. Bene morata civitas esse, sublata religione, non potest: iamque plus fortasse, quam oportet, est cognitum, qualis in se sit et quorsum pertineat illa de vita et moribus philosophia quam *civilem* nominant. Vera est magistra virtutis et custos morum Ecclesia Christi: ea est, quæ incolumia tuetur principia, unde officia ducuntur, propositisque causis ad honeste vivendum efficacissimis, jubet non solum fugere prave facta, sed regere motus animi rationi contrarios etiam sine effectu. — Ecclesiam vero in suorum officiorum munere potestati civili velle esse subjectam, magna quidem injuria, magna temeritas est. Hoc facto perturbatur ordo, quia quæ naturalia sunt proponuntur iis, quæ sunt supra naturam: tollitur aut certe magnopere minuitur frequentia bonorum, quibus, si nulla re impediretur, communem vitam Ecclesia completeret: prætereaque via ad inimicitias munitur et certamina quæ, quantam utrique reipublicæ perniciem afferant, nimis sæpe eventus demonstravit.

to run riot, so that it may with impunity fetch minds away from the truth, lead souls away from virtue. — It is truly a great and pernicious error to exclude the Church, which God Himself has established, from the action of life, from the laws, from the instruction of the youth, and from domestic society. There cannot be a civilized state taken away from religion: and already that philosophy about life and customs that is called *civil* is known, perhaps more than is right: what type it is in itself, and in what direction it reaches. The Church of Christ is the true teacher of virtue and guardian of customs; it is she who protects unharmed the principles from which duties are led, and having proposed the most efficacious causes for living honestly, commands not only to flee perverse deeds, but to rule the motions of the soul which are contrary to reason, even when they are not executed. — In truth, to wish that the Church be subjected to the civil power in the function of her own offices is indeed a great injustice, a great rashness. Order is disturbed by this action, because natural things are placed before those which are above nature: it takes away,

Hujusmodi doctrinas, quæ nec humanæ rationi probantur, et plurimum habent in civilem disciplinam momenti, romani Pontifices decessores Noſtri, cum probe intelligerent quid a se poſtuleret apoſtolicum munus, impune abire nequaquam paſſi ſunt. Sic Gregorius XVI per Encyclicas litteras hoc initio *Mirari vos* die XV Auguſti anno MDCCCXXXII, magna ſententiarum gravitate ea perculit, quæ jam prædicabantur, in culto divino nullum adhibere delectum oportere: integrum ſingulis eſſe quod malint, de religione judicare: ſolam cuique ſuam eſſe conſcientiam judicem: præterea edere quæ quiſque ſenſerit, itemque res moliri novas in civitate licere. De rationibus rei ſacræ reiſque civilis diſtrahendis ſic idem Pontifex: « Neque lætiora et religioni et principatui ominari poſſemus ex eorum votis, qui Eccleſiam a regno ſeparari, mu-

or certainly greatly reduces, the crowd of goods with which, if it were hindered by no thing, the Church would complete the common life: and furthermore, the way to enmity and ſtruggles is fortified, and events have ſhown all too often how much ruin can be brought to each republic.

Our predeceſſors, the Roman pontiffs, ſince they properly underſtood what the apoſtolic office aſked from them, by no means permitted doctrines of this type, which are not accepted by human reaſon and have much in the civil teaching of the moment, to paſſ with impunity. As Gregory XVI, in the encyclical letter beginning with *Mirari Vos*, on 15 Auguſt 1832, with great ſeriousneſs of ſtatements ſtruck down thoſe things which they were already preaching, that no one can invite a ſelection in divine worſhip; that to everyone is the right to judge about religion, which he prefers; that only his own conſcience is a judge; furthermore, to conſume what each perſon feels, and likewise to labor to fetch new things in the ſtate. The Pope ſaid thus about the things pulling apart the ſacred thing and the civil thing: “Nor are We able to forebode

tuamque imperii cum sacerdotio concordiam abrumpi discipiunt. Constat quippe, pertimesci ab impudentissimæ libertatis amatoribus concordiam illam, quæ semper rei et sacræ et civili fausta extitit et salutaris ». — Non ab simili modo Pius IX, ut sese oportunitas dedit, ex opinionibus falsis, quæ maxime valere cœpissent, plures notavit, easdemque postea in unum cogi jussit, ut scilicet in tanta errorum colluvione haberent catholici homines quod sine offensione sequerentur (*Earum nonnullas indicare sufficiat. Prop. XIX — Ecclesia non est vera perfectaque societas plane libera, nec pollet suis propriis et constantibus juribus sibi a divino suo Fundatore collatis, sed civilis potestatis est definire quæ sint Ecclesiæ jura ac limites, intra quos eadem jura exercere queat. Prop. XXXIX — Reipublicæ status, utpote omnium jurium origo et fons, jure quodam pollet nullis circumscripto limitibus. Prop. LV — Ecclesia a Statu, Statusque ab Ecclesia sejungendus est. Prop. LX-XIX — ... falsum est, civilem cujusque cultus libertatem, itemque plenam potestatem omnibus attributam quaslibet opiniones cogitationesque palam publiceque manifestandi, conducere ad popu-*

happier things for both religion and the state from the wills of those who wish that the Church be separated from the kingdom, and to break apart the mutual harmony of the empire with the priesthood. It makes sense, of course, that that harmony, which always stands forth as favorable to civil and sacred things, is very much feared by the lovers of a most shameless liberty.” In a not dissimilar way, Pius IX, as opportunity gave itself, noted many things about these false opinions which had begun to be greatly strengthened, and afterwards he commanded those same opinions to be gathered in one place, that in such a jumble of errors Catholic men might know what they might follow without offense (*It suffices to note a few of them. Prop 19: The Church is not a true and perfect society, clearly free, nor does she exercise her own proper and consistent rights for herself, brought together by her divine Founder; but it is for the civil power to define what the rights of the Church may be, and the limits in which she may exercise those same rights. Prop. 39: The position of the republic, inasmuch as it is the origin and fount of all rights, exer-*

lorum mores animosque facilius corrumpendus, ac indifferentiam, pestem propagandam).

Ex iis autem Pontificum præscriptis illa omnino intelligi necesse est, ortum publicæ potestatis a Deo ipso, non a multitudine repeti oportere: seditio-
num licentiam cum ratione pugnare: officia religionis nullo loco numerare, vel uno modo esse in disparibus generibus affectos, nefas esse privatis hominibus, nefas civitatibus: immoderatam sentiendi sensusque palam jactandi potestatem non esse in civium juribus neque in rebus gratia patrociniisque dignis ulla ratione ponendam. — Similiter intelligi debet, Ecclesiam societatem esse, non minus quam ipsam civitatem, genere et jure perfectam: neque debere, qui summam imperii teneant, committere ut sibi servire aut subesse Ec-

cises by that same right with no limits imposed. Prop. 55: The Church must be separated from the state, and the state from the Church. Prop. 79: ...it is false that the state, and freedom of whose worship, and likewise that the full power given to all of manifesting any opinions and thoughts whatever openly and publicly, leads more easily to corrupting the customs and minds of the people, and to indifference, that increasing plague).

From these writings of the Pontiffs, it must be entirely understood that the rise of the public power is from God Himself, it must not be claimed by the multitude; that permitting seditious fights with reason; that it is sinful for private men, it is sinful for states, to count the duties of religion as of no place, or to be in one way in treating different types; that immoderate power of thinking and of openly throwing out thoughts must not be placed among civil rights, nor among things worthy of grace and protection. — Similarly, it must be understood that the Church is a society, no less than the state itself, perfect in its type and right; nor must that which has the highest of rule attempt to round up

clesiam cogant, aut minus esse si-
nant ad suas res agendas liberam,
aut quicquam de ceteris juribus
detrahant, quæ in ipsam a Jesu
Christo collata sunt. — In nego-
tiis autem mixti juris, maxime es-
se secundum naturam itemque
secundum Dei consilia non seces-
sionem alterius potestatis ab al-
tera, multoque minus contentio-
nem, sed plane concordiam, eam-
que cum causis proximis con-
gruentem, quæ causæ utramque
societatem genuerunt.

Hæc quidem sunt, quæ de
constituendis temperandisque ci-
vitatibus ab Ecclesia catholica
præcipiuntur. — Quibus tamen
dictis decretisque si recte dijudi-
cari velit, nulla per se reprehenditur
ex variis reipublicæ formis,
ut quæ nihil habent, quod doc-
trinæ catholicæ repugnet, eadem-
que possunt, si sapienter adhi-
beantur et juste, in optimo statu
tueri civitatem. — Immo neque
illud per se reprehenditur, parti-
cipem plus minus esse populum
rei publicæ: quod ipsum certis
in temporibus certisque legibus
potest non solum ad utilitatem
(*Ed.'s note: This word is printed
"utilitatem" in the original; it is
believed to be a typo*), sed etiam

the Church to serve or be sub-
ject to themselves, or permit her
to be less free for doing her own
things, or take away anything
of her other rights, which were
brought together in her by Je-
sus Christ. — But in matters of
mixed right, it is most suitable ac-
cording to nature and likewise ac-
cording to the counsels of God,
not the separation of the one
power from the other, and much
less tension, but clearly harmony,
and agreeing with the nearest
causes, which causes give birth to
each society.

These things, indeed, are
things which are perceived by
the Catholic Church regarding
the establishing and control of
states. — However, if one wishes
to judge rightly in those things
which have been said and de-
creed, none of the various forms
of the republic are blamed in
themselves, as they have noth-
ing which is opposed to Catholic
teaching, and they may uphold
the state in its best condition
if they are employed wisely and
justly. — No indeed, it is not
blameworthy in itself that the
people are a participant, more
or less, in the republic; because
it may, at certain times and for
certain laws, pertain not only

ad officium pertinere civium. — Insuper neque caussa iusta nascitur, cur Ecclesiam quisquam criminetur, aut esse in lenitate facilitateque plus æque restrictam, aut ei, quæ germana et legitima sit, libertati inimicam. — Revera si divini eultus varia genera eodem jure esse, quo veram religionem, Ecclesia judicat non licere, non ideo tamen eos damnat rerum publicarum moderatores, qui, magni alicujus aut adipiscendi boni, aut prohibendi caussa mali, moribus atque usu patienter ferunt, ut ea habeant singula in civitate locum. — Atque illud quoque magnopere cavere Ecclesia solet ut ad amplexandam fidem catholicam nemo invitus cogatur, quia quod sapienter Augustinus monet, *credere non potest homo nisi volens* (*Tract. XXVI in Joan., n. 2*).

Simili ratione nec potest Ecclesia libertatem probare eam, quæ fastidium gignat sanctissimarum Dei legum, debitamque potestati legitimæ obedientiam exuat. Est enim licentia verius, quam libertas: rectissimeque ab Augustino *libertas perditionis* (*Ep. CŪ ad donatistas c. II, n. 9*),

to the usefulness, but also to the duty of citizens. — In addition, no just cause has been born for which anyone may denounce the Church, either for being more equally restricted in her gentleness and good nature, or an enemy to a liberty that is genuine and lawful. — In fact, if the Church judges that the diverse kinds of divine worship are not of the same right as the true religion, she does not then condemn those governors of republics who, either for gaining some other great good, or because of prohibiting evil, bear patiently with customs or use in order to have each of these have a place in the state. — And the Church is also accustomed to greatly beware it, that no one be unwillingly gathered to embracing the Catholic faith, for Augustine wisely warned that *man cannot believe except willingly* (*Tract. XXVI in Joan., n. 2*).

For a similar reason, the Church cannot approve that liberty which gives birth to a loathing of the most holy laws of God and takes off the obedience owed to legitimate power. For this is more truly license than liberty, and called more rightly the *liberty of destruction* (*Ep. CŪ*

a Petro Apostolo *velamen malitiæ* (I Petr. II, 16) appellatur: immo, cum sit præter rationem, vera servitus est: *qui, enim facit peccatum, servus est peccati* (Joan. VIII, 34). Contra illa germana est atque expetenda libertas, quæ si privatim spectetur, erroribus et cupiditatibus, teterimis dominis, hominem servire non sinit: si publice, civibus sapienter præest, facultatem augendorum commodorum large ministrat: remque publicam ab alieno arbitrio defendit. — Atqui honestam hanc et homine dignam libertatem, Ecclesia probat omnium maxime, eamque ut tuetur in populis firmam atque integram, eniti et contendere nunquam destitit. — Revera quæ res in civitate plurimum ad communem salutem possunt: quæ sunt contra licentiam principum populo male consulentium utiliter institutæ; quæ summam rempublicam vetant in municipalem, vel domesticam rem importunius invadere: quæ valent ad decus, ad personam hominis, ad æqualitatem juris in singulis civibus conservandam, earum rerum omnium Ecclesiam catholicam vel inventricem, vel auspiciem, vel custodem semper fuisse, superiorum ætatum monumenta testan-

ad donatistas c. II, n. 9) by Augustine, and the *cloak for malice* (I Petr. 2:16) by the Apostle Peter; no indeed, when it is contrary to reason, it is true slavery, for *whosoever committeth sin, is the servant of sin* (John 8:34) Against that is genuine and aspired-for liberty, which if it is observed by the private citizen, does not permit man to serve those foul masters, errors and desires; if publicly, it stands wisely before the citizens, lavishly supplying the means of increasing reward: and it defends the republic from foreign will. — Nevertheless, the Church approves this honest liberty, worthy of man, most greatly of all, and never ceases to demand it and bring it forth, steady and whole, among the peoples. — In fact, those things can be greatly for the common salvation in the state: those which were established profitably against the license of princes considering evil for the people; those which forbid the highest republic from entering inconveniently into the municipal or domestic sphere: the monuments of earlier ages testify that the Catholic Church has always been either the inventor, the predictor, or the guardian

tur. Sibi igitur perpetuo consentiens, si ex altera parte libertatem respuit immodicam, quæ et privatis et populis in licentiam vel in servitutum cadit, ex altera volens et libens amplectitur res meliores quas dies afferat, si vere prosperitatem contineant hujus vitæ, quæ quoddam est velut studium ad alteram eamque perpetuo mansuram. — Ergo quod inquit, Ecclesiam recentiori civitatem invidere disciplinæ, et quæcumque horum temporum ingenium peperit, omnia promiscue repudiare, inanis est et jejuna calumnia. Insaniam quidem repudiat opinionum: improbat nefaria seditionum studia, illumque nominatis habitum animorum, in quo initia perspicuntur voluntarii discessus a Deo: sed quia omne, quod verum est, a Deo proficisci necesse est, quidquid, indagando, veri attingatur, agnoscit Ecclesia velut quoddam divinæ mentis vestigium. Cumque nihil sit in rerum natura veri, quod doctrinis divinitus traditis fidem abroget, multa quæ abrogent, omnisque possit inventio veri ad Deum ipsum vel cognoscendum vel laudandum impellere, idcirco quidquid accedat ad scientiarum fines proferendos gaudente et libente Ecclesia semper accedet: eadem-

of all those things which prevail for dignity, for the person of man, for conserving the fairness of the law in every citizen. Therefore, agreeing constantly with herself, if from one part she has spat upon an immoderate liberty which falls for both private men and for peoples into license or slavery, from the other, willing and cheerful, she embraces the better things which the days may bring, if they truly sustain the prosperity of this life, which is like a certain study for the other, which will remain forever. — Therefore, what they say (that the Church envies the state for more recent teaching, and that she rejects indiscriminately whatever the nature of these times has produced) is an empty and barren calumny. Indeed, she rejects madness of opinions; she disapproves the wicked eagerness for seditions and that habit of minds for naming in which the beginnings of the departing of the willing from God are seen; but because everything which is true must proceed from God, whatever in research touches the truth, the Church recognizes as the very footprint of the divine mind. And although there is nothing of the true in the na-

que studiose, ut solet, sicut alias disciplinas, ita illas etiam fovebit ac provehet, quæ positæ sunt in explicatione naturæ. Quibus in studiis, non adversatur Ecclesia si quid mens repererit novi: non repugnat quin plura quærantur ad decus commoditatemque vitæ: immo inertix desidiæque inimica, magnopere vult ut hominum ingenita uberes ferant exercitatione et cultura fructus: incitamenta præbet ad omne genus artium atque operum: omniaque harum rerum studia ad honestatem salutemque virtute sua dirigens, impedire nititur, quominus a Deo bonisque cælestibus sua hominem intelligentia atque industria deflectat.

ture of things which takes away the faith of the divinity which has been handed down, there are many things which do take away from it, and every invention of the true can drive either knowing or praising to God Himself; on that account the Church will always approach with cheerfulness and rejoicing anything which approaches for advancing the ends of the sciences: and she will favor and cherish those same things eagerly, as she is accustomed, and as she does other disciplines which have been placed in the explanation of nature. The Church is not against these studies if the mind has discovered something of the new; she does not reject that they may search for many things for the honor and convenience of life: no indeed, she is the enemy of ignorance and idleness, she greatly wishes that they may bear fertile fruits by cultivation and exercise instilled in men; she presents incentives to every type of arts and works; and directing with her strength every eagerness in these things to honesty and salvation, she struggles to prevent that intelligence and industry turn man away from God and heavenly goods.

Sed hæc, tametsi plena ratio-

But these things, even if full

nis et consilii, minus probantur hoc tempore, cum civitates non modo recusant sese ad christi-
 næ sapientiæ referre formam, sed etiam videntur quotidie longius ab ea velle discedere. — Nihilomi-
 nus quia in lucem prolata veritas solet sua sponte late fluere, homi-
 numque mentes sensim pervade-
 re, idcirco Nos conscientia maxi-
 mi sanctissimique officii, hoc est
 Apostolica, qua fungimur ad gen-
 tes universas, legatione permoti,
 ea quæ vera sunt, libere, ut debe-
 mus, eloquimur: non quod non
 perspectam habeamus rationem
 temporum, aut repudianda æta-
 tis nostræ honesta atque utilia in-
 crementa putemus, sed quod re-
 rum publicarum tutiora ab offen-
 sionibus itinera ac firmiora fun-
 damenta vellemus: idque inco-
 lumi populorum germana liber-
 tate; in hominibus enim mater
 et custos optima libertatis veritas
 est: *veritas liberabit vos* (*Joan.*
VIII, 32).

Itaque in tam difficili rerum
 cursu, catholici homines, si Nos,
 ut oportet, audierint, facile vide-
 bunt quæ sua cujusque sint tam
 in *opinionibus*, quam in *factis* of-
 ficia. — Et in opinando quidem,

of reason and counsel, are less ap-
 proved in this time when states
 refuse not only to bring them-
 selves back to the form of Chris-
 tian wisdom, but even seem daily
 to wish to depart farther from
 it. — Nevertheless, because the
 truth brought forth into light
 is accustomed to flow widely by
 its own will, and slowly to pen-
 etrate the minds of men, there-
 fore We, conscious of our great-
 est and most holy duty, which
 is Apostolic, which we perform
 for all the nations, moved by
 mission, speak out those things
 which are true, freely, as we must:
 not because we have not exam-
 ined the reason of the times, or
 because We think that We must
 repudiate the honest and useful
 growths of our age, but because
 We desire firmer foundations and
 safer journeys of republics away
 from offenses; and it is for a gen-
 uine unharmed liberty of peo-
 ples; for truth is the mother and
 best guardian of liberty among
 men: *the truth shall make you
 free* (*John 8:32*).

Therefore, in such a difficult
 course of things, if they hear Us
 (as they must), Catholic men will
 easily see what their duties are, as
 much in *opinions* as in *deeds*. —
 And indeed, in supposing, what-

quæcumque Pontifices romani tradiderint vel tradituri sunt, singula necesse est et tenere iudicio stabili comprehensa, et palam, quoties res postulaverit, profiteri. Ac nominatim de iis, quas *libertates* vocant novissimo tempore quæsitæ oportet Apostolicæ Sedis stare iudicio, et quod ipsa senserit, idem sentire singulos. Cavendum, ne quem fallat honesta illarum species: cogitandumque quibus ortæ initiis, et quibus passim sustententur atque alantur studiis. Satis jam est experiendo cognitum quarum illæ rerum effectrices sint in civitate: eos quippe passim genuere fructus, quorum probos viros et sapientes iure pœniteat. Si talis alicubi aut reapse sit, aut fingatur cogitatione civitas, quæ christianum nomen insectetur proterve et tyrannice, cum eâque conferatur genus id reipublicæ recens, de quo loquimur, poterit hoc videri tolerabilius. Principia tamen, quibus nititur, sunt profecto ejusmodi, sicut ante diximus, ut per se ipsa probari nemini debeant.

ever the Roman pontiffs have passed on or will pass on, it is necessary to hold each one understood with stable judgment, and openly to profess them as often as things will have demanded. And namely: about these things which they call *liberties*, sought after in the current time, he must stand with the judgment of the Apostolic See, and whatever the same thinks, he must think the same. He must beware, lest the worthy type of those things deceive him; and he must think about by what beginnings they have arisen, and by what eagerness they have everywhere been sustained and nourished. It has already been known enough by experience who are the originators of such things in the state; of course, they gave birth everywhere to these fruits, by right of which worthy and wise men sorrow. If there truly is somewhere, or is constructed in thought, a state which violently and tyrannically pursues the Christian name, when it is compared to the type of the republic about which We are speaking, the latter could seem more tolerable. However, as We said before, the principles on which it leans are certainly of the same type, so that they in

Poteſt autem aut in privatis domesticisque rebus, aut in publicis actio versari. — Privatum quidem primum officium est, præceptis evangelicis diligentissime conformare vitam et mores, nec recusare si quid christiana virtus exigit ad patiendum tolerandumque paulo difficilius. Debent præterea singuli Ecclesiam sic diligere ut communem matrem: ejusque et servare obedienter leges, et honori, servire, et jura salva velle: conarique, ut ab iis, in quos quisque aliquid auctoritate poteſt, pari pietate colatur atque ametur. — Illud etiam publicæ salutis interest, ad rerum urbanarum administrationem conferre sapienter operam: in eaque studere maxime et efficere, ut adolescentibus ad religionem, ad probos mores informandis ea ratione, qua æquum est christianis, publice consultum sit: quibus ex rebus magnopere pendet singularum salus civitatum. Item catholicorum hominum operam ex hoc tamquam angustiore campo longius excurrere, ipsamque summam rempublicam complecti, generatim utile est atque honestum. *Generatim* eo dicimus, quia hæc præcepta Noſtra gen-

themselves ought to be approved by no one.

But action may be turned either in private domestic things or in public ones. — As a private citizen indeed, the first duty is to conform life and customs most diligently to the Gospel's precepts, nor to reject it even if Christian virtue drives one to suffering and endurance with a little more difficulty. Furthermore, each one must thus love the Church as a common mother: and also to obediently keep her laws, to serve her in honor, and to wish her rights to be unharmed: and to try so that she may be loved and cherished with an equal piety by those others over whom they may be in some authority. — Also, it concerns public salvation to bring together wisely work for the administration of urban things: and in those things to be greatly eager and to make it be decided publicly for the youth to be formed in religion and approved customs for that reason, which is right for Christians: from which things the salvation of every state depends. It is generally useful and honest that the work of Catholic men run a long way beyond such a narrow field, and embrace the highest republic

tes universas attingunt. Ceterum potest alicubi accidere, ut maximis justissimisque de causis, rempublicam capessere, in muneribusque politicis versari, nequaquam expediat. Sed generatim, ut diximus, nullam velle rerum publicarum partem attingere tam esset in vitio, quam nihil ad communem utilitatem afferre studii, nihil operæ: eo vel magis quod catholici homines ipsius, quam profitentur, admonitione doctrinæ, ad rem integre et ex fide gerendam impelluntur. Contra, ipsis otiosis, facile habenas accepturi sunt ii, quorum opiniones spem salutis haud sane magnam afferant. Idque esset etiam cum pernicie conjunctum christiani nominis: propterea quod plurimum possent qui male essent in Ecclesiam animati; minimum, qui bene. Quamobrem perspicuum est, ad rempublicam adeundi causam esse justam catholicis: non enim adeunt, neque adire debent ob eam causam, ut probent quod est hoc tempore in rerum publicarum rationibus non honestum; sed ut has ipsas rationes, quoad fieri potest, in bonum publicum transferant sincerum atque verum, destinatum animo habentes, sapientiam virtutemque catholicæ reli-

itself. We say *generally*, because these Our commands apply to all nations. For the rest it can happen elsewhere that for the greatest and most just causes it is by no means expedient to carry out the orders of the republic and to be turned in political offices. But generally, as We said, to wish no part in the republic is so to touch on vice, as to bring nothing of eagerness or of care to the common utility: it is this or more, because Catholic men, by the admonition of the teaching itself, which they profess, are driven to governing the thing wholly, and from the faith. Contrariwise, these themselves being idle, others will easily receive the reins, the opinions of whom do not at all reasonably bring great hope of salvation. And it is also joined together with the ruin of the Christian name, because they will be able to do more who are animated evilly against the Church; less, who are animated well. For which reason it is clear that it is just cause for Catholics to approach the republic; for they do not approach, nor should they approach, because of that cause that they might approve what is in this time not honest in the reasons of republics; but that

gionis, tamquam saluberrimum succum ac sanguinem, in omnes reipublicæ venas inducere. — Haud aliter actum in primis Ecclesiæ ætatibus. Mores enim et studia ethnicorum quam longissime a studiis àbhorrebant moribusque evangelicis: christianos tamen cernere erat in media superstitione incorruptos semperque sui similes animose, quacumque daretur aditus, inferre sese. Fideles in exemplum principibus, obediensque, quoad fas esset, imperio legum, fundebant mirificum splendorem sanctitatis usquequaque; prodesse studebant fratribus, vocare ceteros ad sapientiam Christi, cedere tamen loco atque emori fortiter parati, si honores, si magistratus, si imperia retinere, incolumi virtute, nequivissent. *Qua* ratione celementer instituta christiana non modo in privatas domos, sed in castra, in curlam, in ipsam regiam invexere. « Hesterni sumus, et vestra omnia implevimus, urbes, insulas, castella, municipia, conciliabula, castra ipsa, tribus, decurias, palatium, senatum, forum » (*Tertull. Apol. n. 37*): ita ut fides christiana, cum Evangelium publice profiteri lege licuit, non in cunis vagiens, sed adulta et jam satis firma in magna civitatum

they bring those reasons to the sincere and true public good, as long as they can, having determined in mind to lead into all the veins of the republic the wisdom and virtue of the Catholic religion like the healthiest of sap and blood. — It was done not at all otherwise in the first ages of the Church. For the customs and eagerness of the pagans were so greatly averse to the eagerness and customs of the Gospel; however, she discerned Christian and uncorrupted things in the midst of superstition, and always courageously took to herself those like things, by whomever the approach may have been given. The faithful were an example to princes, and obedient as far as was lawful to the rule of the laws, they poured a wonderful splendor of sanctity in every conceivable situation; they were eager to be useful to the brethren, to call others to the wisdom of Christ, yet to give place and be prepared to die bravely if they were unable to keep honors, magistracies, or rules with virtue unharmed. For this reason, they quickly carried Christian institutions not only into private homes, but into the fields, into the courts, into the palace itself. “We are of

parte apparuerit.

Jamvero his temporibus consentaneum est, hæc majorem exempla renovari. — Catholicos quidem, quotquot digni sunt eonominis, primum omnium necesse est amantissimos Ecclesiæ filios et esse et videri velle; quæ res nequeant cum hac laude consistere, eas sine cunctatione respicere: institutis populorum, quantum honeste fieri potest, ad veritatis justitiæque patrocinium, uti: elaborare, ut constitutum naturæ Dei que lege modum libertas agendi ne transiliat: dare operam ut ad eam, quam diximus, christianam similitudinem et formam omnis respublica traducatur. — Harum rerum adipiscendarum ratio constitui uno certoque modo haud commode potest, cum debeat singulis locis temporibusque, quæ sunt multum inter se disparia, conveni-

yesterday, and we have filled all your cities, islands, castles, towns, meeting-halls, the fields themselves, tribes, classes, the Palatine, the senate, the forum" (*Tertull. Apol. n. 37*); so did the Christian faith, when it was permitted to publicly profess the Gospel, appear not wailing in the cradles, but adult and already sufficiently strong in the great part of the cities.

It is already agreeable in these times that these great examples be renewed. — It is necessary that Catholics indeed, as many as are worthy of the name, first of all things be and wish to be seen as most loving sons of the Church; those things that they cannot stand alongside with this praise, they must reject without delay; they must use the institutions of peoples for the protection of justice and truth, as much as they honestly can; they must take pains lest the freedom of acting overleap the way established by the law of nature and God; they must give work so that every republic may be led to that Christian likeness and form which We have told. — The reason of gaining these things can not at all conveniently be established in one certain way, since it

re. Nihilominus conservanda in primis est voluntatum concordia, quærendaque agendorum similitudo. Atque optime utrumque impetrabitur, si præscripta Sedis Apostolicæ legem vitæ singuli putent, atque Episcopis obtemperent, quos *Spiritus sanctus posuit regere Ecclesiam Dei* (*Act. XX, 28*). — Defensio quidem catholici nominis necessario postulat ut in profitendis doctrinis, quæ ab Ecclesia traduntur, una sit omnium sententia, et summa constantia, et hac ex parte cavendum ne quis opinionibus falsis aut ullo modo conniveat, aut mollius resistat, quam veritas patiatur. De iis quæ sunt opinabilia, licebit cum moderatione studioque indagandæ veritatis disputare, procul tamen suspicionibus injuriosis, criminationibusque mutuis. — Quam ad rem, ne animorum conjunctio criminandi temeritate dirimatur, sic intelligant universi: integritatem professionis catholicæ consistere nequaquam posse cum opinionibus ad *naturalismum* vel *rationalem* accendentibus, quarum summa est tollere funditus instituta christiana, hominisque stabilire in societate principatum, posthabito Deo. — Pariter non licere aliam officii formam priva-

must be suitable for all places and times, which are very dissimilar among themselves. Nevertheless, in the first place the harmony of wills must be preserved and a likeness of acting must be sought. And each will be best obtained if every man thinks that the writings of the Apostolic See are the law of life, and they obey the bishops, whom *the Holy Ghost has placed... to rule the church of God* (*Acts 20:28*). — Indeed, the defense of the Catholic name necessarily asks that in professing the teachings which are handed down by the Church, the statements of all be one, and with the highest constancy, and from this part beware lest anyone close their eyes to false opinions in any way, or resist more calmly so the truth suffers. Concerning those things which are opinions, it will be permitted to dispute them with moderation and eagerness in tracking down the truth, but far from wrongful suspicions and mutual accusations. — Now to this point, let not the joining of minds be torn apart by a rashness of accusing, as everyone may understand; by no means may the integrity of Catholic profession be consistent with opinions approaching to

tim sequi, aliam publice, ita scilicet ut Ecclesiæ auctoritas in vita privata observetur, in publica respuat. Hoc enim esset honesta et turpia conjungere, hominemque secum facere digladiantem, cum contra debeat sibi semper constare, neque ulla in re ullove in genere vitæ a virtute christiana deficere. Verum si quærat de rationibus mere politicis, de optimo genere reipublicæ, de ordinandis alia vel alia natione civitatibus, utique de his rebus potest honesta esse dissensio. Quorum igitur cognita ceteroqui pietas est, animusque decreta Sedis Apostolicæ obedienter accipere paratus, iis vitio verti dissentaneam de rebus, quas diximus, sententiam, justitia non patitur: multoque est major injuria, si in crimen violatæ suspectæve fidei catholicæ, quod non semel factum dolemus, adducantur. — Omninoque istud præceptum teneant qui cogitationes suas solent mandare litteris, maximeque ephemeridum auctores. In hac quidem de rebus maximis contentione nihil est intestinis concertationibus, vel partium studiis relinquendum loci, sed conspirantibus animis studiisque id debent universi contendere, quod est commune omnium proposi-

naturalism and *rationalism*, the height of which is to utterly take away Christian institutions, and to establish in men the leadership in society, putting God aside. — Equally, it is not permitted to follow one form of duty privately and another publicly, nor also of course that the authority of the Church should be observed in private life, rejected in public. For this is to join the honest to the shameful, and to make man struggle with himself, when contrariwise he must always be consistent with himself, nor to fail in Christian virtue in any thing or in way of life. In truth, if the truth is sought in mere political reasons about the best form of the republic, about ordering citizens by one or another reason, certainly about these things there may be honest disagreement. Therefore, in other respects, for those whose piety and mind, prepared to obediently receive the decrees of the Apostolic See, is known, justice does not suffer the statement that disagreement concerning these things which We have said is turned to vice: and it is much the greater injury if they are led into accusation of violating or suspecting of the Catholic faith, which we

tum, religionem remque publicam conservare. Si quid igitur dissidiorum antea fuit, oportet voluntaria quadam oblivione conterere: si quid temere, si quid injuria actum, ad quoscumque demum ea culpa pertineat, compensandum est caritate mutua, et præcipuo quodam omnium in Apostolicam Sedem obsequio redimendum. — Hac via duas res præclarissimas catholici consecuturi sunt, alteram, ut adjutores sese impertiant Ecclesiæ in conservanda propagandaque sapientia christiana: alteram ut beneficio maximo afficiant societatem civilem, cujus, malarum doctrinarum cupiditatumque causa, magnopere periclitatur salus.

Hæc quidem, Venerabiles Fratres, habuimus, quæ universis catholici orbis gentibus tradere-

will not suffer to be done even once. — And let them entirely hold this precept who are accustomed to entrust their thoughts to letters, and most greatly the authors of newspapers. In this, indeed, about the greatest things in contention no place must be left for internal arguments, or for eagerness of parties, but all must reach with minds and eagerness coming together for what is commonly proposed of all, to preserve religion and the republic. But if, therefore, there have been quarrels, they must be ground in a voluntary oblivion: but if rashly, if an injury is done, if some fault finally touches upon anyone, he must be compensated in mutual charity and redeemed by a certain special obedience of all things to the Apostolic see. — In this way, Catholics will follow two most splendid things: one, that they bestow themselves as helpers to the Church in keeping and spreading Christian wisdom; two, that they affect civil society with the greatest benefit, the safety of which is put to the test because of wicked teachings and desires.

Indeed, Venerable Brethren, we have had these things which we passed down to all the nations

mus de civitatum constitutione christiana, officiisque civium singulorum.

Ceterum implorare summis precibus oportet cæleste præsidium, orandusque Deus, ut hæc, quæ ad ipsius gloriam communemque humani generis salutem cupimus et conamur, optatos ad exitus idem Ipse perducatur, cuius est illustrare hominum mentes, permovere voluntates. Divinorum autem beneficiorum auspiciem, et paternæ benevolentiam Nostræ testem vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, et Clero populoque universo vestræ fidei vigilantiamque commisso Apostolicam Benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum die 1 Nov. an. MDCCCLXXXV, Pontificatus Nostræ Anno octavo.

of the Catholic world about the Christian constitution of states and the duties of each citizen.

Moreover, by the greatest prayers we must implore heavenly protection, and God must be prayed that these things which we wished and tried for the glory of Him and the common salvation of the human race, He may lead to a welcome conclusion, of which is to enlighten the minds of men and to move their wills. But in the patron of divine benefits, and in witness of Our paternal benevolence, we lovingly impart the Apostolic Blessing in the Lord to you, Venerable Brethren, and to all the clergy and people committed to your faith and vigilance.

Given at Rome before St. Peter on the 1 day of November in the year 1885, the eighth year of Our pontificate.

COLOPHON

This document is set in EB Garamond 10/12, from text that is available in the public domain. It was designed and produced using a variety of interlocked traditional Unix scripts and imprinted using the \LaTeX document preparation system, specifically the Lua \LaTeX form.