

of human knowledge; whilst the latter, totally engaged in the pursuit of common place and perishable things, by the very fact of this being its end, confesses to an inferiority. In order, however, that one society should be subordinate to another, it is necessary that the relationship between them should be that of a means to an end. Here, then, is a principle that is universally admitted, and it now only remains for us to apply it to Church and State.

Regenerated man has two homes, earth and heaven; or, in other words, two native countries—one on earth, the other in heaven. To the former is entrusted the destinies of time, to the other, those of eternity. But the former is, evidently, only a halting place on the road to the latter, and is consequently subordinated to the latter as a means to an end. The relations between Church and State are almost those which in man subsist between the soul and the body. The intellect does not interfere directly in the phenomena of sensation, but permits the body to act with full liberty in its own sphere. Nevertheless, the moment the senses in the pursuit of their object become dangerous to the soul, this neutrality ceases. That instant it becomes the imperative duty of reason to command, and, if necessary, to punish these indocile and rebellious servants.

And thus it is with the Church in relation to the State. United together, these two societies constitute but one body, in which there must be dependence and subordination of the lower to the higher faculties. The spiritual Power, however, never dreams of interfering in purely temporal affairs, so long as these do not interfere with her end. "The subordination of the Temporal Power to the Religious Power," says Cardinal Antonelli, "extends also to the pre-eminence of the Priesthood over the Empire. Thus, the authority of the Empire depends on that of the Priesthood, as do human things depend on those that are Divine, temporal things on spiritual things. If temporal happiness, which is the end of the Temporal Power, is subordinate to eternal happiness, which is the spiritual end of the Priesthood, does it not follow, considering the end, in view of which God has established them, that one of these Powers is in subordination to the other, as are respectively subordinate the ends which they pursue?" Such, in reference to the subordination of the State to the Church, are the principles so energetically maintained by the Cardinal Secretary of State in his Despatch to the Imperial Government of France—principles which, His Eminence observes, "have at all times constituted the foundation of Catholic teaching, and which have been defended by 'an innumerable army of writers.'"

In this now famous Memorandum of the French Imperial Government, there is an assertion to which we wish to direct particular attention. M. Daru says: "Modern principles are indispensable to the dignity as well as to the liberty of men." This statesman means the absolute independence of the State. But we hope we shall be able to show that, on the contrary, this absolute independence is an outrage, and an assault on the rights of man. Modern principles, which are nevertheless very old, for they prevailed before the establishment of Christianity, both in Greece and Rome, and elsewhere, erect the State into an idol—a species of god, to which the citizen is unmercifully sacrificed; and these principles call upon him to be happy—nay, proud of the immolation. But our principles are the reverse of all this. We hold that the State essentially exists for the promotion of the greater good of each one of its members. On no other principle can our dignity as reasonable beings, together with our political rights, be protected.

Each individual can say, I am a man before I am a citizen. I existed as a rational being, with all my rights as such, before I became a member of the State. My creator is my first Lord and my first benefactor; to him, therefore, is due the preference in my allegiance. I know, however, that my duties to Him are inseparable from obedience to His Church; that, in fact, these are identified, and that it is impossible to pay him his due without such obedience. According to a fundamental principle of Christianity, he that hears the Church hears God, and he that despises the Church despises God. It was to his Apostles, Christ addressed these words: "He that hears you, hears me; and he that despises you, despises me." True, by my birth I belong to the State; but then, by my baptism, I certainly belong to a society whose rights are superior to all others.

I have, then, an undoubted right to demand of the State, of which I am a member, to so order her legislation that it shall not interfere with my religious convictions; for, otherwise, I should find myself in the painful necessity either of

trampling on the Civil Law, or of disobeying God. It follows from this that the State, in order that it may equitably discharge its obligations should be in accord with the Church. But as a sad experience teaches only too certainly, such is not always the case even when governments call themselves Catholic. In cases of conflict, in which spiritual and temporal interests are at stake, such as are, unhappily too frequent in our day, what must be the result? One or other of the powers opposed must give way and renounce its pretensions. Which shall it be? What should the State do? If the State retains any respect for the dignity of man and the rights of the citizen, in obedience to the stern demands of justice, it will retire from the contest and yield to the Church. It must be convinced that whatever can be purchased only at the expense of conscience and of God, can never be for the citizen a real temporal advantage or gain. In a word, the State cannot possibly continue to protect the rights of its citizens, the protection of which is the *ratio* of its existence at all, unless it be subordinate to the Church.

THE VICTORIAN MINISTRY.

From our Victorian files we learn that Mr. FRANCIS, the Chief Secretary, has resigned the reins of office, and that the helm of State has been taken in charge by Mr. KERFERD, the Attorney-General. The plea upon which Mr. FRANCIS has relinquished the cares of office is said to have been continued ill health, but an opinion is pretty prevalent that the adverse position in which the Ministry were placed with regard to the Norwegian scheme, had much to do with the decision. Mr. FRANCIS has for some time been in failing health, and the worries and cares of office, in conjunction with the thwarting of his favorite measure, have, no doubt, given him a distaste for further political strife. In addition to this, a spirit of jealousy has for some time existed between members of the Cabinet, which the Premier has been hardly able to keep from coming to an open rupture. On the other hand, it has been asserted that his retirement would have been but temporary, had there been a disposition amongst the members of the Ministry to accept the leadership of Mr. KERFERD in the meanwhile, and it was only when a determined opposition was evinced to the arrangement, that his resignation became final. Indeed, subsequent events have disclosed the fact that the greatest want of unanimity existed in the Cabinet, and the disunion and ill feeling was so great, as to make it a matter of necessity, for the proper conduct of the affairs of the country, that important Ministerial changes should have been made. The Hon. Mr. CASEY, the Minister of Lands, with a princely disregard for monetary considerations, has been indulging in a series of visits to various parts of the colony, and travelling in a style in accordance with his exalted ideas of the importance of a Minister of the Crown. Of course if this laudable desire for information and knowledge were indulged at his own, instead of the country's expense, it would be more open to praise than censure; but as it was not, and as the public purse has been called on to meet those pleasure trips, the Treasurer refused to sanction the expenditure, the visits of the Minister not being of an official character. The present Premier of Victoria is an exemplification of what can be accomplished by patient perseverance and determined energy; and a proof that the topmost round of the ladder of life is within the grasp of those who commence the ascent determined to win success. It was a saying of NAPOLEON that every soldier carried a Marshal's baton in his knapsack; and in like manner may it be said that every colonist has a portfolio within his reach. Not many years since Mr. KERFERD commenced life in an humble capacity in the town of Beechworth, the centre of the Ovens district, and although he possessed no capital, his business qualifications procured him a partnership in a commercial firm on most advantageous terms. The firm unfortunately failed; but instead of being cast down or dispirited by the reverse, Mr. KERFERD nerved himself to renewed exertion; and while following his ordinary occupation he so employed his leisure hours as to study for the bar, to which he was ultimately admitted. He has several times been Mayor of Beechworth, and for several years has represented that town in Parliament. When Mr. FRANCIS formed his Ministry, on the resignation of Sir CHARLES DUFFY, Mr. KERFERD took the subordinate office of Solicitor-General, Mr. STURLEN being Attorney-General; but when the latter gentleman appointed himself a Judge of the Supreme Court on the