

people know that the impression was wholly devoid of foundation in fact. But as soon as the political machinery of the Empire was running smoothly, BISMARCK plunged into the war with the Vatican. The long struggle is famous in history as the Kulturkampf. No statesman could have been better equipped for such a fierce and long-drawn war as the great Chancellor. 'No one,' says JUSTIN MCCARTHY, in his *Leo XIII.*, 'will ever again have a chance in a like struggle such as he had then. He failed—for the simple reason that he had undertaken an impossible task. He had gone in for the suppression of individual conscience; and the man, the statesman, or the empire that now goes in for the suppression of individual conscience undertakes a task in which JULIUS CÆSAR, or CHARLEMAGNE, or the First NAPOLEON, would be foredoomed to failure. Some time we shall recognise this as an axiom in politics. Perhaps Prince BISMARCK's failure will have helped us beyond all other things to this wholesome and this only conclusion.'

The new campaign against the Church by BISMARCK was carried out ostensibly in the name of Dr. FALK—hence the name, 'FALK Laws.' The first blow struck at the Church in Prussia by these laws was at Catholic education, and especially at the education of Catholic students. The idea of the FALK laws was to make the State supreme over every form of religious teaching in Germany. The struggle began with a series of proscriptions against the Jesuits. By the Act of June, 1872, they were put under the ban of the law; the foreign members were expelled from the soil of the Fatherland; the others were cooped up in certain districts, from which they were hable at any moment to be driven out. In April of the following year the old right of self-government was taken from the Church in Prussia, and the State was invested, says MCCARTHY, 'with supreme control over the internal management of every ecclesiastical institution which professed to accept the spiritual guidance of the Vatican. The new law prohibited the mere giving-out in Catholic churches of any encyclical letter, or other admonition, from Rome, which might seem to the Prussian authorities to be dangerous to the interests of public order.' Bolder and more comprehensive legislation followed. BISMARCK was determined, if possible, to crush the Church in Germany. FALK—the nominal author of the anti-Catholic legislation—was his eager and strenuous ally. The great champion of Catholic rights and interests was WINDHORST, the O'CONNELL of Germany, and one of the most brilliant parliamentary debaters of Europe. The debates in the Prussian Parliament were followed by people in every civilised country with an interest such as no legislative discussions have aroused since that time. But BISMARCK had the big battalions at his command. And the sheer weight of their brute force carried the day.

It is unnecessary to enter into the details of the oppressive legislation of the spring and summer of 1873. Its general effect is described as follows by JUSTIN MCCARTHY: 'Every young man in the kingdom of Prussia who desired to become a member of the Roman Catholic priesthood, was compelled to follow the course of a German University, according to a system of teaching established by the State. The students of theology were prevented, during their university course, from joining any ecclesiastical seminary. Every institution designed for the education of the Catholic clergy was placed under the control of the State. All the nominations to parochial functions had to be announced in advance to the authorities of each province in which the nominations were made, and these authorities had the right to forbid the nominations, if the candidates, in their judgment, seemed to be persons likely to interfere with the proper working of the State laws, and by consequence with public order. Another act gave the power to the Government of deposing any minister of the Catholic Church, whose acts or whose sermons seemed dangerous to the preservation of established laws. A special tribunal was created for dealing with ecclesiastical affairs, and to this tribunal was given the power of deposing bishops, or other priests, a continuation of whose functions might seem to the court a danger to public order. The acts absolutely suppressed the ecclesiastical authority of the Vatican in Prussia. At least, to put it more correctly, the acts declared the Papal authority suppressed in Prussia. The Ecclesiastical Titles

Act had declared the same thing in England; and we have seen what came of it. So far as declared legislation could do the work, there was a new penal code established against Catholicism in Prussia.'

Several circumstances combined to put a break upon the mad career of BISMARCK and FALK in their fierce warfare against the Church in Prussia. (1) The first was the action of the law courts. As in the days of FREDERICK and the Miller of Sans-Souci, there were still judges in Berlin, and—as in the case of most penal codes—the administration of the law seldom fell to the iniquitous depths of the law itself. (2) Another and far more serious obstacle was raised against BISMARCK's crusade by the strenuous passive resistance of the Prussian archbishops, bishops, and clergy. They declined to be either cajoled or bullied or persecuted into acceptance of the new legislation. And they joyfully went to prison for their principles. Archbishop (afterwards Cardinal) LEDOCHOWSKI was cast into prison and deprived of his archbishopric. The Archbishop of Cologne passed six months in durance; the Bishop of Trèves 299 days; the Bishop of Paderborn 100 days—after which he was interned in the fortress of Wesel; the auxiliary Bishop of Posen passed twenty-one months in gaol. Several Orders of monks and nuns were abolished; and by 1878 nine of the twelve Catholic sees were bereft of their bishops by banishment or death, and 1100 parishes were deprived of the ministrations of their pastors. Atheists, Secularists, Freemasons, and the more rabid sectarians tossed up their caps, and huzza'd BISMARCK's penal legislation. But the wholesale imprisonment of their clergy aroused the strong opposition of Catholics, and decent and fair-minded people of every creed gradually became tired of what proved to be a futile, as it was a fierce, attempt to throttle the Church in Prussia: BISMARCK's vaulting ambition had o'erleaped itself and fallen on the other side.

(3) The rapid growth and aggressiveness of Socialism in Germany led to a struggle which, for a time at least, absorbed the energies of the Government and superseded the campaign against the Vatican. Two attempts to assassinate the Emperor made him pause. To those who congratulated him on his wonderful escape from assassination he replied: 'This only shows us how we must take care that the people shall not lose their religious principles.' (4) All this time the Pope had been quietly pursuing a policy of conciliation. The Emperor was willing to meet him half way. The administration of the FALK Laws was relaxed; and BISMARCK ate a quantity of humble pie and went to Kissingen to arrange terms of peace with the Papal Nuncio. FALK was completely ignored in the negotiations. In 1878 he felt himself compelled to resign, and thereafter he dropped back into the obscurity which he was fitted to adorn, and went beneath the surface of the public life of Europe. Some Relief Acts were in due course passed. When the present Emperor came to the throne he declared for the widest tolerance of the creed of others, the long negotiations ended happily at last in the disappearance of the FALK Laws from the statute book and the restoration of the banished ecclesiastics, and the Vatican won the day. WINDHORST did not live to see the formal close of the struggle in which he had played such a gallant part in the arena of Parliament. But in the meantime BISMARCK had been dismissed from his place and succeeded by General CAPRIVI as the Emperor's Prime Minister. He died an embittered and disappointed man, after having failed in a war against the Church in which even a man of such commanding genius as the First NAPOLEON could not succeed.

NOTICE.

DURING the absence of the Editor (Rev. H. W. Cleary) on a well earned and much needed holiday, the attention of correspondents is specially directed to our standing rule that all communications connected with the literary department of this paper—such as reports, correspondence, etc.—should be addressed to 'The Editor.' Closed communications addressed by name to Rev. H. W. Cleary will be treated as his private correspondence and will be forwarded to his temporary address in Australia.

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